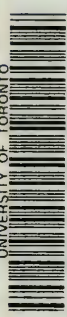



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THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART X

*GRENFELL AND HUNT*



Archaeol.  
Egy

EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

(GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH)

Græco-Roman Memoirs

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
PART X

*EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES*

BY

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WITH SIX PLATES

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## P R E F A C E

OF the new literary pieces here published, 1231 and 1233-5 proceed from the second of the large literary finds of 1906, with some small additions from the work of the next season. The remainder, with the extant and non-literary papyri, were for the most part found in 1903-4.

It is a great pleasure to be able to restore to the title-page of this volume the name of the friend and colleague whose absence during the last five years has been so much regretted. The earlier portion of the book was already in shape when Dr. Grenfell came back to Oxford, but he has shared in the editing of the non-literary texts, besides helping materially in the revision of the whole. In future we hope to return to the old division of labour, and so by degrees to reduce the arrears in the publications of the Graeco-Roman Branch.

To Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff I am under fresh obligations for most generous assistance in connexion with the new classical texts, 1231-41. Professor U. Wilcken has repeated his kind service of reading the non-literary documents in proof and affording the benefit of his criticism; and Professor L. Mitteis, as on many previous occasions, has given valuable advice on some points of Graeco-Roman law. To these scholars, as to one or two others from whom occasional welcome contributions have been received, belong the hearty thanks of both the editors of this volume and its readers.

ARTHUR S. HUNT.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,  
JAN., 1914.



# CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	v
LIST OF PLATES . . . . .	viii
TABLE OF PAPYRI . . . . .	ix
NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	xiii

## TEXTS

I. THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS (1224-1230) . . . . .	1
II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS (1231-1242) . . . . .	20
III. EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS (1243-1251) . . . . .	119
IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS :	
( <i>a</i> ) Official (1252-1257) . . . . .	162
( <i>b</i> ) Declarations to Officials (1258-1269) . . . . .	178
( <i>c</i> ) Petitions (1270-1272) . . . . .	200
( <i>d</i> ) Contracts (1273-1282) . . . . .	207
( <i>e</i> ) Taxation (1283-1285) . . . . .	227
( <i>f</i> ) Accounts and Lists (1286-1290) . . . . .	236
( <i>g</i> ) Private Correspondence (1291-1300) . . . . .	243
( <i>h</i> ) Miscellaneous Minor Documents (1301-1350) . . . . .	256

## INDICES

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS :	
( <i>a</i> ) 1231-4 (Sappho and Alcaeus) . . . . .	265
( <i>b</i> ) Other Texts . . . . .	273
II. EMPERORS . . . . .	280
III. CONSULS, ERAS, INDICTIONS . . . . .	282
IV. MONTHS AND DAYS . . . . .	283
V. PERSONAL NAMES . . . . .	283
VI. GEOGRAPHICAL . . . . .	291
VII. RELIGION . . . . .	293

	PAGE
VIII. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TITLES . . . . .	294
IX. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, COINS . . . . .	295
X. TAXES . . . . .	296
XI. GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK AND LATIN WORDS . . . . .	297
XII. INDEX OF PASSAGES DISCUSSED . . . . .	311

## LIST OF PLATES

I. 1224 Fr. 1 recto, Fr. 2 verso, 1232 Fr. 1, Cols. ii-iii . . . . .	} <i>at the end.</i>
II. 1231 Frs. 1, 10, 56 . . . . .	
III. 1233 Fr. 1, Col. ii, Frs. 2, 8 . . . . .	
IV. 1234 Fr. 2 . . . . .	
V. 1225, 1238, 1249, 1271 . . . . .	
VI. 1250 Cols. i-ii . . . . .	

## TABLE OF PAPYRI

*(An asterisk denotes texts not printed in full)*

	A. D.	PAGE
1224. Uncanonical Gospel . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	1
1225. Leviticus xvi . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	10
1226. Psalms vii, viii . . . . .	Late 3rd or early 4th cent. . . . .	11
1227. St. Matthew's Gospel xii . . . . .	5th cent. . . . .	12
1228. St. John's Gospel xv, xvi . . . . .	Late 3rd cent. . . . .	14
1229. St. James's Epistle i . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	16
1230. Revelation v, vi . . . . .	Early 4th cent. . . . .	18
1231. Sappho, Book i . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	20
1232. Sappho, Book ii . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	44
1233. Alcaeus . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	50
1234. Alcaeus . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	70
1235. Arguments of Menander's Plays . . . . .	Early 2nd cent. . . . .	81
1236. Menander, <i>Epitrepontes</i> . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	88
1237. Menander, <i>Colax</i> . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	93
1238-40. Fragments of Comedies . . . . .	1st-3rd cent. . . . .	95
1241. Chrestomathy . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	99
1242. Greeks and Jews before Trajan . . . . .	Early 3rd cent. . . . .	112
1243. Apollonius Rhodius, <i>Argonautica</i> iii . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	119
1244. Herodotus i . . . . .	Early 2nd cent. . . . .	120
1245. Thucydides i . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	122
1246. Thucydides vii . . . . .	Early 2nd cent. . . . .	125
1247. Thucydides viii . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	126
1248. Plato, <i>Politicus</i> . . . . .	Late 2nd cent. . . . .	129
1249. Babrius, <i>Fables</i> . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	133
1250. Achilles Tattius, <i>Clitophon and Leucippe</i> ii . . . . .	Early 4th cent. . . . .	135
1251. Cicero, <i>In Verrem</i> II. ii and <i>Pro Caelio</i> . . . . .	5th cent. . . . .	142
1252. Official Correspondence and Declaration . . . . .	288-95 . . . . .	162
1253. Military Requisitions . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	168

## TABLE OF PAPYRI

	A. D.	PAGE
1254. Publication of an Appointment . . . . .	260 . . . . .	170
1255. Affidavit of Comarchs . . . . .	292 . . . . .	172
1256. List of Priests under age . . . . .	282 . . . . .	174
1257. Statement concerning a Decaprotus . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	176
1258. Promise of Attendance . . . . .	45 . . . . .	178
1259. Declaration of a Shipper . . . . .	211-12 . . . . .	180
1260. Declaration of a Shipper . . . . .	286 . . . . .	182
1261. Declaration concerning Commissariat . . . . .	325 . . . . .	184
1262. Receipt of Seed-corn . . . . .	197 . . . . .	185
1263. Announcement concerning Practice of a Trade . . . . .	128-9 . . . . .	186
1264. Notification of Inviolability . . . . .	272 . . . . .	187
1265. Affidavit of Priestly Rank . . . . .	336 . . . . .	189
1266. Examination for Membership of the Gymnasium . . . . .	98 . . . . .	191
1267. Registration of a Child . . . . .	209 . . . . .	194
1268. Registration of a House after Purchase . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	196
1269. List of Property . . . . .	Early 2nd cent. . . . .	198
1270. Notification through the Archidicastes . . . . .	159 . . . . .	200
1271. Petition to the Praefect . . . . .	246 . . . . .	204
1272. Complaint of Theft . . . . .	144 . . . . .	205
1273. Marriage-contract . . . . .	260 . . . . .	207
1274. Appointment of a Representative . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	211
1275. Engagement of Musicians . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	213
1276. Sale of House-property . . . . .	249 . . . . .	215
1277. Sale of a Triclinium . . . . .	255 . . . . .	217
1278. Division of Usufruct of a Pigeon-house . . . . .	214 . . . . .	219
1279. Lease of State Land . . . . .	139 . . . . .	221
1280. Partnership in a Lease . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	223
1281. Loan . . . . .	21 . . . . .	224
1282. Repayment of a Loan . . . . .	83 . . . . .	225
1283. Revenue-return . . . . .	219 . . . . .	227
1284. Receipt for Tax on Sales . . . . .	250 . . . . .	230
1285. List of Village Payments . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	232
1286. Account of Receipt and Expenditure . . . . .	253 . . . . .	236
1287. Survey-list . . . . .	Early 3rd cent. . . . .	237
1288. Private Account . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	239
1289. Private Account . . . . .	5th cent. . . . .	241
1290. List of Articles . . . . .	5th cent. . . . .	242
1291. Letter of Zoïs . . . . .	30 . . . . .	243
1292. Letter of Hermogenes . . . . .	About 30 . . . . .	244
1293. Letter of Theon . . . . .	117-38 . . . . .	245

TABLE OF POPYRI

xi

	A. D.	PAGE
1294. Letter to Didyme . . . . .	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent.	247
1295. Letter of Tasoïs . . . . .	2nd or early 3rd cent.	249
1296. Letter of Dius . . . . .	3rd cent.	250
1297. Letter of Sarmates . . . . .	4th cent.	251
1298. Letter of Ammon . . . . .	4th cent.	252
1299. Letter of Psais and Syra . . . . .	4th cent.	254
1300. Letter of Peter . . . . .	5th cent.	255
1301. Application to a Strategus . . . . .	Late 3rd or early 4th cent.	256
1302. Title (?) . . . . .	208 (?)	257
*1303. Declaration on Oath . . . . .	About 355 . . . . .	257
*1304. Application for Payment . . . . .	169-177 (?) . . . . .	257
1305. Report of a Public Meeting . . . . .	Late 3rd cent.	257
*1306. Application for ἐπίκρισις . . . . .	214-15 (?) . . . . .	257
1307. Response to a Petition . . . . .	3rd cent.	257
1308. Receipt issued to a Tax-collector . . . . .	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent.	258
*1309. Receipt for Payment of Dues . . . . .	198 . . . . .	258
1310. Memorandum of Clothes . . . . .	3rd cent.	258
1311. Memorandum of Payment of Oil . . . . .	5th cent.	258
1312. Memorandum . . . . .	5th cent.	258
1313. Fragment concerning a Praefect . . . . .	3rd cent.	258
*1314. Latin Writing-exercise . . . . .	4th or 5th cent. (?)	258
*1315. Graeco-Latin Alphabets . . . . .	5th or 6th cent.	258
1316. Fragment of a Contract . . . . .	57 . . . . .	258
*1317. Contract of Loan . . . . .	91 . . . . .	259
*1318. Contract of Loan . . . . .	About 305 . . . . .	259
1319. Date of a Contract . . . . .	403 . . . . .	259
1320. Fictitious Loan . . . . .	497 . . . . .	259
*1321. Receipt for Rent . . . . .	48-9 . . . . .	259
1322. Receipt for Wine . . . . .	413 . . . . .	259
*1323. Receipt for Rent . . . . .	6th cent.	260
*1324. Receipt for Wine . . . . .	301 . . . . .	260
1325. Receipt for Wine . . . . .	5th cent.	260
1326. Receipt for Wine . . . . .	5th or 6th cent.	260
*1327. Receipt for Wine . . . . .	5th or 6th cent.	260
1328. Receipt for Rent . . . . .	4th or 5th cent.	260
1329. Receipt for Dues . . . . .	399 . . . . .	260
1330. Receipt for Dues . . . . .	Late 4th or 5th cent.	261

## TABLE OF POPYRI

	A. D.	PAGE
1331. Receipt for Dues . . . . .	5th cent. . . . .	261
1332. Receipt for Corn . . . . .	5th cent. . . . .	261
1333. *Account: Order for Payment . . . . .	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent. . . . .	261
*1334. Order for Payment of Chaff . . . . .	416 . . . . .	261
1335. Order for Payment of Meat . . . . .	482 . . . . .	261
*1336. Order for Payment of Money . . . . .	5th cent. . . . .	261
1337. Order for Payment of Money . . . . .	5th cent. . . . .	261
1338. Order for Payment of Cheese . . . . .	5th cent. . . . .	261
1339. Account of Expenses . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	262
*1340. Account: List of Names . . . . .	1st cent. . . . .	262
1341. Account . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	262
1342. Account of Payments . . . . .	5th cent. . . . .	262
1343. Account . . . . .	6th cent. . . . .	262
1344. Account . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	262
*1345. Fragment of a Letter . . . . .	Late 2nd or 3rd cent. . . . .	262
1346. Fragment of a Letter . . . . .	2nd cent. (?) . . . . .	263
1347. Fragment of a Letter . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	263
1348. Beginning of a Letter . . . . .	Late 3rd cent. . . . .	263
1349. Letter of Sarapion . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	263
1350. Letter . . . . .	5th or 6th cent. . . . .	263



## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE general method followed in this volume is the same as that in Parts I-IX. Of the new literary texts, 1224 and 1231-4 are printed in a dual form, a literal transcript being accompanied by a reconstruction in modern style; 1242 is given in modern form only. In the others, and in the fragments of extant authors, the originals are reproduced except for division of words, capital initials in proper names, expansion of abbreviations, and supplements of lacunae. Additions or corrections by the same hand as the body of the text are in small thin type, those by a different hand in thick type. Non-literary documents are given in modern form with accentuation and punctuation. Abbreviations and symbols are resolved; additions and corrections are usually incorporated in the text, their occurrence being recorded in the critical apparatus, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected if they seemed likely to give rise to any difficulty. Iota adscript has been printed when so written, otherwise iota subscript is employed. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [[ ]] a deletion in the original. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the *Oxyrhynchus papyri* in this volume and in Parts I-IX, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used in referring to papyrological publications are practically those adopted in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, viz. :—

P. Amh. = The Amherst Papyri (Greek), Vols. I-II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

*Archiv* = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.

B. G. U. = Aeg. Urkunden aus den K. Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.

P. Brit. Mus. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I-II, by F. G. Kenyon; Vol. III, by F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell; Vol. IV, by H. I. Bell.

C. P. Herm. = Corpus Papyrorum Hermopolitanorum, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.

- C. P. R. = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.
- P. Cairo Cat. = Catalogue des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine, Vols. I-II, by J. Maspero.
- P. Cairo Preis. = Griechische Urkunden des Aeg. Museums zu Kairo, by F. Preisigke.
- P. Fay. = Fayûn Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.
- P. Flor. = Papiri Fiorentini, Vol. I, by G. Vitelli; Vol. II, by D. Comparetti.
- P. Gen. = Les Papyrus de Genève, Vol. I, by J. Nicole.
- P. Giessen = Griechische Papyri zu Giessen, Vol. I, by E. Kornemann, O. Eger, and P. M. Meyer.
- P. Goodsp. = Greek Papyri from the Cairo Museum, by E. J. Goodspeed (University of Chicago Decennial Publications).
- P. Grenf. = Greek Papyri, Series I, by B. P. Grenfell, and Series II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Hamburg = Griechische Urkunden der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek, Parts 1-2, by P. M. Meyer.
- P. Hibeh = The Hibeh Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Leipzig = Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig, Vol. I, by L. Mitteis.
- P. Munich = Veröffentlichungen aus der Papyrussammlung zu München, Part I, by A. Heisenberg and L. Wenger.
- P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I-VI, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt; Parts VII-IX, by A. S. Hunt.
- P. Par. = Les Papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre, *Notices et Extraits*, t. xviii. 2, by W. Brunet de Presle and E. Egger.
- P. Petrie = The Flinders Petrie Papyri, Parts I-II, by J. P. Mahaffy; Part III, by J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly.
- P. Reinach = Papyrus grecs et démotiques, by Théodore Reinach.
- P. Rylands = Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library, Manchester, Vol. I, by A. S. Hunt; Vol. II in the press.
- P. S. I. = Papiri della Società italiana, Vols. I-II, by G. Vitelli and others.
- P. Strassb. = Griech. Papyrus der K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Strassburg im Elsass, Vol. I, by F. Preisigke.
- P. Tebt. = The Tebtunis Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly; and Part II, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and E. J. Goodspeed.
- P. Thead. = Papyrus de Théadelphie, by P. Jouguet.
- P. Tor. = Papyri Graeci Regii Taurinensis Musei Aegyptii, by A. Peyron.
- Wilcken, *Ost.* = Griechische Ostraka, by U. Wilcken.

## I. THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

---

### 1224. UNCANONICAL GOSPEL.

Fr. 2 6.3 × 13.1 cm.

Fourth century. Plate I  
(Fr. 1 recto, Fr. 2 verso).

These small but highly interesting fragments from a papyrus book are written with care in an upright uncial hand of medium size. The contrast between dark and light strokes is well marked, and the frequent thickening at the tops of letters gives a somewhat ornate effect; cf. 1229. *o* varies in size, being sometimes quite small, sometimes on the same scale as the other letters; *μ* also is inconsistent, the internal part being either angular or curved; *v* generally has a long tail, whereas *ρ* is shorter and sometimes does not descend at all below the line. Hands of this type are commonly assigned to the fourth century, and to that period the present example may also be attributed, though it is likely to have been written early in the century rather than late, and a third century date is not out of the question. *Ἰησοῦς* is abbreviated *ιη*, as in 1079, a papyrus of about the same age. *v* at the end of a line sometimes appears as a horizontal stroke over the preceding vowel; an angular sign to fill up a short line is once used. Both fragments are from the tops of leaves, and the columns or pages were numbered, in one place (2 verso i) certainly, in another (2 recto ii) probably, in the formal script of the text below. In Fr. 1 recto and 2 recto i, on the other hand, the figures are more negligently written, but since an intermittent numeration would be inconvenient, they are likely, nevertheless, to have proceeded from the pen of the original scribe.

Fr. 2 contains two columns on recto and verso, and the question arises whether this is to be regarded as a single leaf with double columns, or as two leaves with a single column to the page. Since Col. i of the verso is numbered 174 and Col. i of the recto [1]76, it is clear that verso i, ii, recto i were consecutive; but if the fragment consists of two leaves, recto ii immediately preceded verso i, instead of following recto i, as it would if a single leaf with double columns be supposed. The latter hypothesis is supported by the narrow space between the columns and the absence of a strongly marked crease down the

middle of it. But the space is not narrower than in P. Rylands 28, a certain instance of a double leaf, though no doubt the book to which that belonged was not nearly so bulky as the one under consideration; moreover, there is a crease, though not a deep one, in this space, and the fold is in the right direction, i. e. it would make the verso lie uppermost in the quire. Several other considerations support the theory of the double leaf as against the double column. (1) Single columns were apparently customary in papyrus books in Egypt. (2) In a book composed of leaves with double columns, the second column on every page should have an even number; but here the number of the second column would be odd. (3) Col. i of the recto stands higher by nearly a line than Col. ii. Contiguous columns were not, indeed, always kept parallel, but an inequality would be more liable to occur if the columns did not stand side by side on the same page. The balance of probability, therefore, inclines to the supposition that Col. ii recto is the page preceding Col. i verso. If this be correct, it is likely that the column was of no great height, and it may be estimated at about twenty lines at most.

In Fr. 1, numbered on the recto 139, so little is preserved that no reconstruction is practicable. On the recto the words ἀμῆν ὑμῖν λέγω show that the Saviour is speaking, and a similar inference is probably to be drawn from the second person plural ὑμεῖς, which is the only complete word on the verso. Between this leaf and Fr. 2 there was a wide interval, the next pagination number preserved being 174, at the top of Fr. 2 verso i. If, as we have supposed, this page was preceded by Col. ii of the recto, the number to be restored there is 1[73]. The subject of that column is again not clear. Seemingly it describes an appearance in a vision of Jesus, who speaks words of comfort or exhortation, but the occasion and the person addressed remain in doubt. That the incident to which the passage relates is the walking on the sea (Matt. xiv. 25 sqq., Mark vi. 48 sqq.) seems unlikely, and the reference is perhaps to something not reported in the Canonical Gospels. Dr. Bartlet, after suggesting that the lines expand the account of the Call of Peter contained in Luke v. 1-10 by a description of a supplementary commission given in a nocturnal vision, now inclines to the view that they relate to a vision of consolation and encouragement following Peter's Fall. Either of these explanations, if adopted, would have an important bearing on the problem of the identity of the work to which the fragment belongs; see below, pp. 4-5. The next column (2 verso i) is not more extensive, but enough is preserved to indicate that questions were being addressed to Christ concerning the nature of His mission and teaching. Apart from the phrase 'new doctrine', however (cf. Mark i. 27), the language finds no evident parallels in the pages of the Evangelists.

In the two following columns firmer and more familiar ground is reached. Fr. 2 verso ii describes in language similar to that of the Synoptists, though more concisely, the offence taken by the scribes, Pharisees, and priests at seeing Jesus consorting with sinners, with His answer, which appears to have been in the form given it by St. Luke. Col. i of the recto contains two recorded Sayings put in a novel relation. The injunction to pray for enemies found in Matthew and Luke is followed by the sentence 'For he that is not against you is with you' (so Luke: 'us' Matt.); and this line of thought is carried on, if the restoration is correct, by an otherwise unrecorded Saying that the man who to-day is afar off will to-morrow be near at hand. The mention of 'the adversary' in the next line suggests a further development of the same idea.

How are these fragments to be classified? Are they part of an uncanonical Gospel covering much the same ground as the Synoptic Gospels, or do they come from a collection of Sayings of Jesus like that of which portions have been previously recovered (1, 654, possibly also, as some think, 655 and the Vienna fragment from the Fayûm)? The latter hypothesis may be supported by more than one argument. In the first place it is to be remarked that, in these mutilated remains of six columns, Jesus is always either actually speaking or about to speak. Moreover, the discourse here attributed to Him shows the same admixture of novel and familiar elements as the two Oxyrhynchus fragments of collected Sayings (1, 654) and the so-called fragment of an uncanonical Gospel (655) which has been referred by some critics to the same collection. Again, in each of those three papyri there were certain special points of contact with St. Luke's Gospel; in 1224 specific Lucan affinities may again be observed (1 verso ii. 5-6, 2 recto i. 3). But there is at any rate one notable divergence from 1 and 654: the formula 'Jesus saith', which there introduced the various Sayings, is here absent. Instead of this, in Fr. 2 verso ii. 4-5 the words addressed to the murmuring scribes and Pharisees are preceded by  $\acute{\omicron}$  δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀκούσας [εἶπεν (or λέγει)], just as in the parallel passages of the Synoptists. There is thus good reason for declining to refer 1225 to the same collection as 1 and 654. Possibly other collections differently put together were in circulation; but the alternative view, that our fragments belong to an uncanonical Gospel, is the more natural. In such scanty remains as these the absence of pure narration is an extremely precarious argument; and it may be held that the introductions to the Lord's words in Fr. 2 verso are more in the manner of a connected narrative than a collection of Sayings as such. There is indeed the analogy of 654. 32-6, where a series of questions from the disciples are quoted; but nowhere else in that papyrus or in 1 was the context of a Saying given, and the occurrence here of two or, including Fr. 2 recto ii, even three instances within so small a compass

thus affords a distinct point of contrast. Stress will perhaps be laid on the brevity of the introduction to the reply to the scribes and Pharisees in Fr. 2 verso ii, as compared with the corresponding accounts of the Evangelists. This, however, depends to some extent upon the restoration, and would be less striking if, for example, the alternative supplement suggested in the note *ad loc.* were adopted. Moreover, the conciseness here is counterbalanced by the fullness of the preceding column. It is also significant that in Fr. 2 verso i, ii, recto i, which were certainly consecutive, a natural sequence of events is traceable, substantially that of St. Luke, to whom, as already remarked, the fragments show linguistic relationship. The questions put concerning the new doctrine in Fr. 2 verso i, as might be expected, precede (cf. Mark i. 27), and may be supposed to have arisen out of the claim to forgive sins as recorded in Luke v. 17 sqq. Col. ii is parallel to Luke v. 27 sqq., while recto i embodies some of the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, reported in Luke vi. The inference will follow that these columns stood comparatively early in the Gospel, which therefore, on account of the high pagination numbers, must have been preceded by some other work. Whether Fr. 1 belongs to the same work as Fr. 2 thus becomes questionable.

For the identification of this Gospel, if it be rightly regarded as such, decisive indications appear to be lacking. A search among the extant non-canonical Sayings has failed to disclose points of contact; nor are traces of bias in favour of or against any particular sect recognizable. It is natural to think of the Gospel according to the Egyptians; but beyond some *a priori* probability in the case of a document circulating in Egypt, little can be urged in support of this identification, and the distinctive characteristics commonly attributed to that Gospel are not here in evidence. Perhaps 1224 belongs to the same work as 655, which, though probably distinct from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, had some affinity to it. In their relation to the Synoptic Gospels there is a general similarity between 655 and 1224; both exhibit a free handling of Synoptic material, and a tendency towards abridgement. The fact that the two papyri are derived from the same site lends the hypothesis of a common source a certain plausibility. A more definite suggestion is made by Dr. Bartlet, who is inclined to refer Fr. 2 to the Gospel of Peter. This view rests upon the interpretation mentioned above of Fr. 2 recto ii as concerned in some way with that disciple. In the eponymous Gospel an amplification of any incident relating to him would be likely enough, and since the Gospel was written in the first person, the use of  $\mu\epsilon$  in l. 1 is very appropriate. If it refers to the Call, this column should precede verso i, an arrangement already found probable on palaeographical grounds; but the difficulty pointed out in that connexion (p. 2), arising from

the narrowness of the inter-columnar space, becomes accentuated, since the Akhmim fragment shows that the Gospel of Peter was a work of considerable compass, for the completion of which many more pages would be needed. To evade the obstacle by the assumption that our Gospel was not finished in a single volume, but extended into a second, is not altogether satisfactory. If, on the other hand, recto ii be connected with Peter's Fall, this column will follow recto i, and the double-column formation of the pages must be assumed. This, as remarked above, is on external evidence less satisfactory; but a more serious difficulty is the resulting necessity of supposing the omission in this Gospel of all the matter found in the Canonical Gospels between the Sermon on the Mount (Fr. 2 recto i) and the Fall of Peter. Dr. Bartlet holds this to be possible on a theory of the Gospel of Peter making it highly selective in the narrative of events preceding the Passion, in which interest was centred. Such a view, however, needs further substantiation. Another objection to any identification with the Gospel of Peter is that in the extant fragment of it the name Jesus is not used, being replaced by *ὁ κύριος*. Until further discoveries throw fresh light upon the problem, it will probably be necessary to acquiesce in a conclusion of *non liquet*.

## Fr. I recto. Plate I.

ρλθ

[. . . . .]γτιενπαντι  
 [. . . . .]μωναμηνϋ  
 [. . . . .]εισ[. . . . .]  
 . . . . .

## Fr. I verso.

[

σεταιϋμεισ[. . . . .]  
 [. . .]ητ[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 2 verso. Plate I.

## Col. i.

ροδ

[. . . . .]πεςμηαποκρεινο  
 [. . . . .]πειπασπ[.]ιανσε  
 [. . . . .]χηνκαιν[.]δι  
 [. . . . .]. [. . .]ακαινο  
 5 [. . . . .]θητικαι  
 . . . . .

## Col. ii.

[

οιδεγραμματεισκα[. . . . .]  
 οικαιῑερισθεασαμ[. . . . .]  
 τονηγανακτουν[. . . . .]  
 τωλοισαναμε[. . . . .]  
 5 δε̄ῑη̄ακουσασ[. . . . .]  
 [. . .]ουσινοιϋ[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .]. [  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 2 recto.

Col. i.	Col. ii.
]οσ	ρ[
[. . . . .]αιπ[.]οσευχεςθεῦπερ >	μεεβαρησενκαι[. . . . .
[. . . . .]ρωνῦμωνογαρμηῶ	νουτη[.]γοραμα[. . . . .
[. . . . .]ωνῦπερῦμωνεστιν	τιαθ[.]εισουγαρ[. . . . .
[. . . . .]νμακραναυριον	[.]γαλλαο[. . . . .
5 [. . . . .]ενησεταιικαιεν	5 δουσεπ[. . . . .
[. . . . .] . τουαντιδι[. . .	. . . . .
[. . . . .]ινενω[. . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .

## Fr. 1 recto. Plate I.

ρλθ  
]γτι ἐν παντι  
[. . . . .]μων. ἀμῆν ὑ-  
[μῖν λέγω . . . . .]εισ[  
. . . . .

## Fr. 1 verso.

[  
σεται. ὑμεῖς [ . . . . .  
[. . .] • ητ[  
. . . . .

Whether the recto of this leaf preceded the verso or vice versa there is no sure means of deciding. The subject of what remains of both pages is also quite uncertain. In l. 2 of the recto the doubtful  $\mu$  may be  $\pi$ , or perhaps  $\iota$ .

## Fr. 2 recto. Col. ii.

ρ[ογ  
με ἐβάρησεν. καὶ [παρεσταμέ-  
νου Ἰη(σοῦ) [ἐ]ν δράμα[τι λέγει  
Τί ἀθ[υμ]εῖς; οὐ γὰρ [. . . . .  
[σ]ὺ ἀλλὰ ὁ [. . . . .  
5 δούς ἐπ[  
. . . . .

‘. . . overcame me. And Jesus stood by in a vision and said, Why art thou cast down? For it is not thou who . . . but he who gave (?) . . .’

The question of the position of this page has been discussed in the introduction.



Unfortunately its contents are also obscure. The only passage where the word *ὄραμα* is found in the Gospels is Matt. xvii. 9 *μηδενὶ ἐλάλησθε τὸ ὄρα*, in reference to the Transfiguration; and it is remarkable, as Prof. Swete has pointed out, that *βαρεῖσθαι* occurs in the description of the same event in Luke ix. 32 *ὁ δὲ Πέτρος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἦσαν βεβαρημένοι ὑπνώ*. The subject of the present passage, however, appears to be quite different. That the nominative to be supplied before *με ἐβάρησεν* is *ὑπνος* is not unlikely (cf. Matt. xxvi. 43 *ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ βεβαρημένοι*), but there are of course many other possibilities, e. g. *φόβος* or *λύπη*. In l. 2 *νον* can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as the termination of a participle, though the genitive causes difficulty, since *Ἰησοῦς* is the natural subject of the sentence. This type of construction is, however, to be found in classical Greek as well as in the *Κοινή*; the genitive may even be a clerical error and not attributable to the author. For [ἐ]ν ὄραμα[τι λέγει cf. Acts ix. 10; [ἐ]ν ὄρα, though there is not too much room for the ε, suits the remains better than δι' ὄραματος (Acts xviii. 9). ἀθ[υμ]εῖς is very doubtful; the shape of the letter following the α is more like that of θ than of ο, which both when written large or small is nearly circular. Moreover an ο is very intractable here; the α would inevitably have to be connected with the preceding letters, whereas a question τί . . . fits in much better with the context; cf. e. g. Matt. viii. 26 *καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς τί δεῖλοί ἐστε, ὀλιγόπιστοι*; The objection to θ is that there is no visible trace of the cross-bar, although the surface of the papyrus in the middle of the letter is not appreciably worn. σ is less suitable. At the beginning of l. 4 ν is not altogether satisfactory on account of the comparative shortness of the tail; but π or τ is still more objectionable. If ν is right, an emphatic [σ]ν seems more probable than -[σ]ν, and a convenient antithesis is obtained by reading ὁ . . . δούς ἐπ[ι] . . .; cf. for this collocation e. g. Luke vii. 44 *ὑδωρ μοι ἐπὶ πόδας οὐκ ἔδωκας*. On the supposition that the passage described Peter's restoration from the remorse of his denial Dr. Bartlet suggests οὐ γὰρ [ἐπαίτιος σ]ν ἀλλὰ ὁ [προδότης ὁ με παρα]δούς κτλ.; or ἐπ[ιταγήν, e. g., may be restored on the view of the passage as concerned with the Call of Peter; cf. introd. pp. 2, 4.

## Fr. 2 verso. Col. i. Plate I.

ροδ  
 ἐ]πες μὴ ἀποκρινό-  
 [μενος. τί οὖν ἀ]πείπας; π[ο]ίαν σέ  
 [φασιν διδα]χὴν καιν[ήν] δι-  
 [δάσκειν, ἢ τί β]ά[πτισμ]α καινὸν  
 5 [κηρύσσειν; ἀποκρί]θητι καὶ  
 . . . . .

174.

' . . . thou didst say . . . , making no answer. What then hast thou forbidden? What is the new doctrine that they say thou teachest, or what the new baptism that thou dost preach? Answer and . . . '

Though the wording of this passage is open to doubt, its purport may be recovered with probability. *καινόν* points clearly to *καιν[ήν]* in the preceding line, and, given *χην καιν[ήν]*, *διδαχὴν* becomes obvious on the analogy of Mark i. 27 *τί ἐστὶν τοῦτο; διδαχὴ καινὴ*; cf. Acts

xvii. 19 τίς ἡ καινὴ αὐτῆ ἢ ὑπὸ σοῦ λαλουμένη διδαχὴ; and the next two letters, δι, may naturally be assumed to be the first syllable of the verb διδάσκειν. The interrogative π[ο]ίαν, which is almost inevitable, fits in admirably with these supplements, and μὴ ἀποκρινόμενος in the line above, which suggests ἀποκριθῆτι in l. 5, is also quite in keeping. σέ following π[ο]ίαν implies an infinitival construction; hence φασίν] . . . διδάσκειν. Other details of the restoration are more questionable. In l. 1 π of πες, which is doubtless the termination of a verb, is practically certain, and εἶ]πες is better suited to the present participle μὴ ἀποκρινόμενος than c. g. ἡμῶς κατελι]πες, although the use of the form -ειπας in such close proximity constitutes something of a stumbling-block. The letter preceding ειπας is doubtfully identified as a π. What remains is a vertical stroke with a small tip to the right of its top. In other examples of π in this papyrus the cross-stroke does not project beyond the uprights, but a slight inaccuracy in this respect may easily have occurred here and there. The top of ι or η, which are the alternatives, turn, if at all, to the left, not to the right. π is therefore preferable, whether the primary meaning 'declare' or the commoner signification 'forbid' be adopted, and τί ἀ]πείπας gives a good sense; ἀπειπεῖν is, however, not found in the Gospels. In l. 4 ]α may well be τίν]α, e. g. τίν]α καινὸν [νόμον, but the lacunae are perhaps rather easier to fill if some neuter substantive like βάπτισμ]α or κήρυγμ]α be restored. The vestige in the middle of the line is of little assistance, except that it indicates a somewhat tall letter, such as α usually is, but an η or ι, e. g., is also possible. For βάπτισμα κηρύσσειν cf. Mark i. 4, &c., and, for the likelihood of questions concerning a 'new baptism', John iv. 1-2 ἤκουσαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ὅτι Ἰησοῦς πλείονας μαθητὰς ποιεῖ καὶ βαπτίζει ἢ Ἰωάννης, καίτοιγε Ἰησοῦς αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐβάπτισεν ἀλλ' οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. β]α]πτισμ]α would scarcely be too long for the available space.

Fr. 2 verso. Col. ii. Plate I.

[ροε

οἱ δὲ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖ-  
οι καὶ ἱερεῖς θεασάμ[ενοι αὐ-  
τὸν ἠγανάκτουν [ὅτι σὺν ἀμαρ-  
τωλοῖς ἀνὰ μέ[σον κείται. ὁ

5 δὲ Ἰη(σοῦς) ἀκούσας [εἶπεν Οὐ χρείαν  
[ἔχ]ουσιν οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες  
[ἰατροῦ]. [

175.

'The scribes and Pharisees and priests seeing him had indignation because he reclined in the midst of sinners. And Jesus hearing them said, They that are whole need not a physician, [but they that are sick].'

There is much similarity between this passage and the Synoptists, e. g. Mark ii. 15-17 καὶ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἀμαρτωλοὶ συναέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων ἰδοῦτες . . . ἔλεγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ Ὅτι μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς Οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ, κτλ.; cf. Matt. ix. 10-12 where the same verb συναέκειντο is used, but only the Pharisees are mentioned as objectors

and Luke v. 29-31, who has μετ' αὐτῶν κατακείμενοι, and ὑγαιίνοντες, which apparently stood in the papyrus, in place of ἰσχύοντες. For οἱ ἱερεῖς cf. Luke xx. 1, where the MSS. are divided between ἱερεῖς and the more usual ἀρχιερεῖς. The vestige in l. 7 may well be the top of the α of ἀλλά. The restoration adopted of ll. 5-7, producing a striking coincidence with the language of St. Luke, is likely to be correct, especially as both Matthew and Mark here use the simple ἀκούσας without amplification; but the passage will admit of a quite different treatment, e. g. ἀκούσας [ὅτι ἀγανακτ]οῦσιν οἱ ὑ[ποκριταὶ εἶπεν κτλ. : the frequent application of the term ὑποκριταὶ to the scribes and Pharisees in the Gospels would serve to justify its occurrence in this context.

## Fr. 2 recto. Col. i.

ρ]οσ

καὶ π[ρ]οσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ

[τῶν ἐχθ]ρῶν ὑμῶν· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ἂν

[κατὰ ὑμ]ῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστιν.

[ὁ σήμερον ᾧ]ν μακρὰν αὔριον

5 [ἐγγὺς ὑμῶν γ]ενήσεται, καὶ ἐν

[. . . . .]. τοῦ ἀντιδ[ί]κου

[. . . . .]ινενω[ι]. . .

. . . . .

176.

‘. . . and pray for your enemies; for he that is not against you is with you. He that to-day is afar off shall to-morrow be near you, and in . . . of the adversary . . .’

1-2. Cf. Matt. v. 44 ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς, Luke vi. 27-8 ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεάζοντων ὑμᾶς. The actual combination προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν appears in *Didache* i. 3 προσεύχ. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθ. ὑμ. . . . καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν; cf. *Didascalía* v. 15 ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ προείρηκα Προσεύχ. κτλ.

2-3. Cf. Luke ix. 50 ὃς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν καθ' ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστιν; similarly Mark ix. 40 with ἡμῶν for ὑμῶν. But in these two passages the Saying stands in quite another context, its occasion being the attempt of the disciples to prevent a man who was not a follower of Jesus from casting out devils in His name.

4 sqq. The restoration of ll. 4-5 is highly conjectural and rests upon no authority, but it appears to carry on well the line of thought: 'Pray for your enemies, for they may be in truth friends, or if they are not now, they may soon become such.' An analogous sentiment was early current in the Greek world, and is attributed by Aristotle, *Rhet.* p. 1389 b 23, to Bias, κατὰ τὴν Βίαντος ὑποθήκην καὶ φιλοῦσιν ὡς μισήσοντες καὶ μισοῦσιν ὡς φιλήσοντες, and p. 1395 a 25 οὐ δεῖ, ὥσπερ φασί, φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μισεῖν ὡς φιλήσοντας; cf. Diog. Laert. i. 87, who also attributes the maxim to Bias, Soph. *Ai.* 679-82, Seneca, *Ep.* 95. 63 cum monemus aliquem . . . ut ex inimico cogitet fieri posse amicum: we are indebted for these references to Prof. J. S. Reid. Somewhat similarly the Greek proverb γνῶθι σεαυτὸν is reflected in 654. 18-20.

In l. 5 [ἐγγὺς ὑμῶν γ]ενήσεται may be preferred to [ἐγγὺς παραγ.] as a clearer expression

of the real meaning, though a more general form would well accord with the proverbial character of the Saying. The supposed vestige of a letter preceding  $\tau\omicron\nu$  in l. 6 is possibly the end of the cross-bar of the  $\tau$ , and in any case is too slight to build upon;  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$ ]  $\upsilon$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , e. g., would be suitable. The recorded precept about agreeing with the adversary quickly (Matt. v. 25, Luke xii. 58) would hardly suit this context. In l. 7 the letters may be divided  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\upsilon\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\phi$  or ]  $\upsilon\epsilon\nu$   $\acute{\omega}\nu$ ; the third  $\nu$  may equally well be  $\mu$ .

## 1225. LEVITICUS xvi.

10.2 x 5.5 cm.

Fourth century. Plate V.

A small fragment written in heavy sloping uncials of a type generally similar to those of the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus (1011) though at a less advanced stage of development. It may be assigned to the first half of the fourth century. Apart from the hand, a comparatively early period is suggested by the fact that the MS. was in the form of a roll, not a codex, the verso of the fragment being blank. The ink is of the brown shade which became common in the early Byzantine age. Some stops in the middle position show a somewhat darker colour, and may have been added subsequently. There is no margin in front of the first letters of ll. 4-5 and 7, and it is uncertain that these were the beginnings of the lines, though the text can be conveniently arranged on that supposition.

. . . . .

νη]ν τ[ο]ν μαρ[τυριου] xvi. 33  
κα]ι το θυσιασ[τηριον]  
ε]ξειλασεται. κα]ι περι  
των ἱερεων. κα]ι περι πα  
5 σης της συνα[γωγης]  
ε]ξειλασεται. [και εσται] 34  
τουτο ὑμιν ν[ομιμον]  
αιω]νιον εξειλ[ασκεσθαι]  
περ]ι [τ]ων υἱω[ν Ἰηλ] απο  
10 πασων] των α[μαρτιων]  
αυτων] απαξ τ[ου ενιαυ]  
του π]οιη[θησεται]

. . . . .

5. της: so FGN; om. BA.

## 1226. PSALMS vii, viii.

10.5 × 6.8 cm.

Late third or early fourth century.

The upper corner of a leaf from a papyrus book of early date, belonging perhaps more probably to the third century than the fourth. It is written in round upright uncials of medium size, and showing some tendency towards cursive forms, e.g. the occasional linking of  $\omega$  to the following letter. Some marginal flourishes mark the commencement of a Psalm on the recto, and its number seems to have been written above the title. The usual contractions of  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{o}\varsigma$  and  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  occur. A second hand seems to have inserted an iota adscript at verso 8. The text is written stichometrically, the initial letters of each  $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\varsigma$  being slightly enlarged. It is of some interest as providing early attestation of one or two readings which have hitherto rested on inferior authority.

## Verso.

	[ $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ κρινει λαους κρινο]ν με [ $\overline{\kappa}$ ]ε κατα	vii. 9
	[την δικαιοσυ]νην σου	
	[και κατα την ακακίαν] μου επ εμοι	
	[συντελεσθητω δη πο]νηρια αμα[ρ]τωλων	10
5	[και κατευθυνεις δι]καιον	
	[εταζων καρδιας και] νεφρους ο $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$	
	[δικαια η βοηθεια μο]ν παρα $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$	11
	[και σωζοντος τους ευ]θεις τη καρδιαι	
	[ο $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ κριτης δικαιος κ]αι $\overline{\iota\sigma\chi\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma}$ και μα	12
10	[κροθυμος ]	
	[και μη οργην επαγων] καθ εκαστην	
	[ημεραν	

## Recto.

	η [	
	ψαλ[μος τω Δαυειδ	
	$\overline{\{\}}\{\}$	
	$\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ ο $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ ημων ω[ς θαυμαστον το ονο	viii. 2
	μα σου εν [παση τη γη	
5	οτι επηρθη η $\overline{\mu}$ [εγαλοπρεπια σου υπερ	

ανω τω[ν ουρανων  
 εκ στοματος ν[ηπιων και θηλαζοντων 3  
 κατηρι[σω αινον  
 ενεκεν των [εχθρων σου του κα  
 10 ταλυσα[ι εχθρον και εκ  
 δικη[την  
 οτ[ι  
 . . . . .

Verso 1. με: so B<sup>NR</sup>; μοι A and many cursives.

2. σου: so the cursives 27, 111 marg., 156, 202, 269, 283, 284.

3. εμοι: so B<sup>NA</sup>; εμε R.

7. θ(εο)υ: του θεου B<sup>NA</sup>; κυριου R.

8. There is a narrow crack in the papyrus between η and κ, and iota adscript may have been inserted here as well as at the end of the line.

11. Considerations of space make it probable that και stood before μη, as in S<sup>c.a</sup> and numerous cursives.

Recto 1. The vestige of a vertical stroke is consistent with η; but a figure in this position might refer to the page instead of the Psalm, the number of which could have stood in the margin.

2. In B<sup>NR</sup> &c. ψαλμος is preceded by εις το τελος υπερ των ληρων, but these words are omitted in 151, 173.

9. ενεκεν: so 181, Cyrill. Alex. vi, p. 400; ενεκα others.

## 1227. ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL xii.

6 × 11.8 cm.

Fifth century.

Fragment of a leaf of a papyrus codex, written in rather large upright uncials in which dark and light strokes are strongly contrasted. The hand bears a general resemblance to that of the Ascension of Isaiah (P. Amh. 1); it appears to point to a date in the fifth century. The ink is of the brown shade characteristic of the period. A stop in the high position occurs once, and there is one doubtful instance of a rough breathing. An agreement with D and a corrector of S is noticeable in l. 5 of the verso, and an unrecorded variant in recto l. 4, and apparently also l. 6.

Verso.

. . . . .  
ακου]σα[ντες

xii. 24

[ειπον] ο[υ]τος ουκ εκβα[λλει  
 [τ]α δαιμον[ια] ει μη εν τω [Βε  
 ελζεβουλ' αρχοντι των δ[αι  
 5 μονιων· ιδων δε τας ε[ν]θυ 25  
 [μησει]ς αυτων ειπ[εν] αυτοις  
 [πασα β]ασιλε[ι]α [μ]ερισ[θει]σα κα  
 [θ] εαυτη[ς] ε[ρ]ημ[ου]ται [και πα  
 [σ]α πολις η [οικια μ]ερισθ[ει]σα  
 10 [κ]αθ εαυ[της] ου σ[τ]αθησεται 26  
 [κ]αι ει ὁ Σ[ατανας

Recto.

[. . .] . . . [ 31  
 [και] ος αν ειπ[η] λογο]ν κατα τ[ου] 32  
 [υ] του ανου αφεθησεται αν  
 [τ]ω ουτω ος δ αν ε[ι]πη κατα  
 5 [του πνς] του αγιου ουκ] α[φ]εθη 33  
 [σεται εν] τ[ου]τω τω α[ι]ωνι ο]ν  
 [δε εν τ]ω με[λλ]οντ[ι] η προ[ιη  
 [σατ]ε το δευδρον] καλον [και  
 [τον κ]αρ[πον] αυτο]ν καλο]ν  
 10 [η ποιησατε το δευδρον]ν

Verso 3. εν : om. E.

[Βε]ελζεβουλ : so CDEGKM &c. ; βεεζεβουλ BΣ.

5. ιδων : so Σ<sup>b</sup>D ; ειδως most MSS.

δε : so BΣD ; CEGKLM &c. add ο Ι(ησου)ς.

10. [κ]αθ εαυ[της] : so most MSS. ; εφ εαυτην D, which also has στησεται instead of σταθησεται, and this may have stood in the papyrus.

11. [κ]αι ει : ει δε και D. That a slightly curved horizontal stroke above the next letter represents a rough breathing is uncertain.

Recto 2. αν : so D ; εαν most MSS. Cf. l. 4, where εαν is apparently universal apart from the papyrus.

4. ουτω : om. MSS.

5-6. The reading of the papyrus here is very doubtful. MSS. have ουκ αφεθησεται (ου

μη ἀφῆθη B) αἰτω followed by either οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι οὔτε (B<sup>2</sup>CD) or οὔτε ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ οὔτε (K) or οὔτε ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι οὔτε (EFGLM &c.). [σεται αὐ]τῷ is possible, but then none of the recorded variants is reconcilable with the following letters, τῷ a little further on being clear. To suppose an omission of τούτῳ does not solve the difficulty, since [οὐτ] ἐν is too long for the space and the vestiges do not suggest ἐν. Possibly something other than ἀφῆθησεται was written, but it was not μὴ ἀφῆθη. Traces of ink above το[υτ]ῷ perhaps indicate a correction.

## 1228. ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL xv, xvi.

Fr. 2 (Col. ii) 18.5 × 5 cm.

Late third century.

Fragments from two consecutive columns from a roll containing the Gospel of St. John. The text, written in an upright informal hand of medium size, is on the verso, the recto of both fragments being blank; but no doubt in other parts the roll included sheets which had previously been inscribed. There is a general similarity between the script of this papyrus and that of the second Logia fragment, 654, also on a verso; in 1228, however, the writing is somewhat heavier and approximating nearer to cursive. It is likely to date from about the end of the third century. The usual abbreviations of Ἰησοῦς, πατήρ, and ἄνθρωπος occur, but no punctuation-marks or other signs apart from the diaeresis. In both fragments the lines have lost their beginnings and ends throughout, and since they were of some length it is impossible to fix the points of division. Like the early fragments of this Gospel previously obtained from Oxyrhynchus (208), 1228 shows a good and interesting text, though, as often, its affinities are not strongly marked, and it does not agree at all consistently with any one of the chief authorities. Coincidences with the Codex Sinaiticus are frequent, but divergences are noticeable at ii. 4, 9-10, 27, 29.

## Col. i.

	αὐ]των γεγραμμε[νος οτι	xv. 25
	] οταν ελθη ο πα[ρακλητος	26
	υμ]ιν παρα του π[ρς [	
	] π[ρς εκπορευε[ται	
5	ε]μου και υ̅μ[εις	27
	ε]μου εστε τ[αυτα	xvi. 1
	σκ]αδαλισθητε [	
	ε]ρχεται ωρ[α	2
	. . . . .	



Col. ii.

	γ]υνη οταν τικτη λυπ[ην	xvi. 21
	αυ]της οταν δε γεννη[ση	
	μνημ]ονευει της θλειψεω[ς	
	εγενν]ηθη αν̄ος̄ εις τον κ[οσμον	
5	νυ]ν μ]εν λυπην εχετε [	22
	χαρη]σεται ῡμων η καρ[δια	
	ου]δεις αιρει αφ [υ]μων [	
	ου]κ ερωτησετε [ου]δε[ν	23
	ο] τῑ εαν αιτησ[ητε	
10	] ῡμει]ν εω[ς] αρτι [	24
	ονο]ματι μου [	
	3 lines lost	
15	π]ρ̄ς [α]π[α]γγελω [υμιν	25
	ε]ν τω ο]ν[οματ]ι μ[ο]υ αιτ]η[σεσθε	26
	εγ]ω ερω[τησ]ω τ[ο]ν πᾱρα [	
	] πη[ρ̄ φιλει] ῡμα]ς. ο]τι ῡμ]εις	27
	κα]ι π[επιστε]υκατ[ε] οτι εγ]ω	
20	εξ]ηλθο]ν εξ[η]λθον̄ παρα του π[ρ̄ς	28
	τ]ον [κοσμον] παλιν αφιημι	
	] πᾱρ[ος] τ[ο]ν [	
	] ιδε [	29
	ου]δεμ]ι[αν] λεγεις	
25	πα]ντ[α] και ου χρει[αν	30
	τ]ουτω [πισ]τευομε[ν	
	απ]εκρι[θη] αυτοις Ιη[ς] α]ρτι	31
	] ωρα [και ε]ληλυθεν [	
	ει]ς τ[α] ι]δια κα[ι] εμ[ε	

i. 1. The papyrus followed the same order as BNDGL; in AEHIKM &c. εν τω νομω αυτων follows γεγραμμενος.

2. οταν: so B<sup>N</sup>; οταν δε ADIL.

4. π(ατ)ρ(ο)ς: πατρος μου D.

6-7. The ordinary text gives a somewhat shorter supplement than might be expected; but there is no recorded variant, and the spacing in the papyrus is not very regular.

ii. 3. θλειψεω[ς]: λυπησ D.

4. ο ανθρωπος N\*.

5. *νν μ<sup>ν</sup> εν λυπην*: so B $\mathfrak{N}$  (*μεν ονν* N\*) C\*DLM; *λυπην μεν ννν* AC<sup>3</sup>.  
*εχετε*: so B $\mathfrak{N}$ \*C; *εξετε* N<sup>c</sup>ADL.  
 7. *αιρει*: so NACD<sup>2</sup>L; *αρει* BD\*.  
 8. *ερωτησετε*: *ερωτησητε* N\*.  
 9. *ο] τι εαν*: so A (*αν*); *αν τι* BCDL, *οτι αν τι* D<sup>2</sup>, *οτι ο αν* N, *οτι οσα αν οτ εαν* others.  
 9-10. The papyrus agreed with AC<sup>3</sup>D in placing *εν τω ονοματι μου* before *δωσει*, which precedes in B $\mathfrak{N}$ C\*L.  
 15. Either [a]π[a]γγελω (B $\mathfrak{N}$  (-ελλω) DC\*KLM) or [a]ν[a]γ. (C<sup>corr</sup>EGH) is possible.  
 16. The vestiges of the letters are doubtfully identified, but appear to suit the usual order rather better than that of N *αιτ. εν τω ονομ. μου*.  
 20. *παρα*: so NAC<sup>2</sup>; *εκ* BC\*L. D omits *εξηλθον . . . πατρος*.  
 27. *τη(σου)[ς]*: so BC; *ο ι*. NADL.  
 28. [*και*]: so the best MSS.; *και ννν* C<sup>3</sup>D<sup>3</sup>.  
 29. *κο[ι] εμ[ε]*: so AC<sup>3</sup>D; *καμε* B $\mathfrak{N}$ C\*L.

## 1229. ST. JAMES'S EPISTLE i.

12.1 × 11.2 cm.

Fourth century.

This papyrus leaf, as the pagination on each side of it shows, was the second of the book to which it belonged, the text commencing on the second page of the preceding leaf, while page 1 was either blank or, more probably, contained only the title. Nine or ten lines are lost at the bottom of the verso, and the height of the leaf when complete would have been approximately 19 cm., if the lower margin was of about the same width as the upper. When found the leaf was folded up, like a document, at right angles to the lines of the text. These are written in good-sized broad uncials, rather coarse and irregular in formation, though hooks and thickenings at the ends of strokes show an attempt at ornament. The fourth century is the date suggested. No abbreviations occur except the strokes over a vowel for a final *ν* at the end of a line; *πατρός* is written in full. A medial point is found once. Textually there is little to notice beyond the occurrence of the ungrammatical *ἀποσκιάσματος* found also in B $\mathfrak{N}$  in verse 17.

Verso.

β

τη ταπειν <sup>ω</sup> [[ου]]σι αυτου οτι	i. 10
ως ανθος χορτου παρε	
λευσεται ανετειλεν γαρ	11
ο ηλιος συν τω καυσωνει	
5 και εξηρανε τον χορτο̄	
και το ανθος αυτου εξεπε	

και  
 σεν η ευπρεπεια του προσω  
 που αυτου απωλετο ου  
 τως και ο πλουσιος εν ταις  
 10 πορειαις αυτου μαραν  
 θησεται μακαριος ανη  
 ρ ος ὑπομενει πειρα  
 σμον οτι δοκιμος γενο  
 μενος λημψεται τον  
 15 στεφανον της ζωης  
 ον επη[γ][γειλ]ατο τοις  
 αγ[απωσιν αυτον  
 . . . . .

Recto.

γ  
 συλλαβουσα τικτει αμαρ  
 15 τιαν η δε αμαρτια αποτε  
 λεσθαισα αποκνει θανα  
 τον. μη πλανασθαι α  
 5 δελφοι μου αγαπητοι  
 πασα δοσις αγαθη και  
 17 παν δωρημα τελειον  
 ανωθεν εστιν κατα  
 βαινον απο του πατρος  
 10 των φωτων παρ ω ουκ ε  
 νι παραλλαγης η τρο  
 πης αποσκιασματος  
 βουληθεις απεκυησεν  
 18 ημας λογω αληθειας  
 15 εις το ειναι ημα[ς απ]αρ  
 χην τ[ινα  
 . . . . .

Verso 11. ανηρ: so B<sup>s</sup>CKL; ανθρωπος A. The division of the word after η is abnormal.

16. After επηγγειλατο (C)KL add κυριος.

C

Recto 4. *πλανασθαι* is for *-σθε*.

10. *ενι*: so most MSS.; *εστιν* **N**.

11. *παραλλαγης*: *παραλλαγη* MSS.

12. *αποσκιασματος*: so **BN**\*; *αποσκιασμα* **N**<sup>c</sup>ACKL, edd.

## 1230. REVELATION v, vi.

4.1 × 7 cm.

Early fourth century.

Fragment of a leaf of a book, written in a medium-sized sloping informal hand, approximating to cursive, and dating probably from the earlier part of the fourth century. The lines, which were of considerable length, have lost both beginnings and ends, and their distribution cannot now be recovered. The use of the numeral ζ for *ἑπτά* is in accordance with the character of the MS.; it is likely that *τεσσάρων* and *τρεις* in v. 6 and vi. 6 were similarly shortened. So far as it goes, the text shows a tendency to agree with that of the Codex Sinaiticus.

## Recto.

. . . . .	. . . . .	
	ι]δ̄ον̄ ἐμ[ικησεν	v. 5
	Δαυ]ειδ' αν[οιξαι	
	αυτ]ου κ[α]ι ειδον̄ εν [	6
	ζωω]ν̄ και εν̄ μεσω των̄ πρ[εσβυτερων	
5	ω]ς̄ εσφαγμᾱνον̄ εχων̄ κερ[ατα	
	] τᾱ ζ̄ π̄νᾱ τοῡ θῡ απεσπα . [	
	ηλ]θεν̄ καῑ ειληφεν̄ εκ̄ της̄ δ[εξῑας	7
	οτ]ε̄ ελα[βεν̄	8
	. . . . .	

## Verso.

	] καθημ[ενος	vi. 5
	κ]αῑ ηκουσ[α	6
	χοι]μιξ̄̄ σιτοῡ δηναριοῡ κ[αῑ	
	δην]αριοῡ καῑ το̄ ελεον̄ καῑ το̄ [	
5	] οτε̄ ηνεωξεν̄ την̄ σφραγ[ιδᾱ	7
	ηκο]υσᾱ φωνην̄ τοῡ τεταρτ[οῡ	
	] ειδ[ον̄	8
	. . . . .	

Recto 2. ἀν[οί]ξαι: so **NA**; ο ανοιγων B.

3. ειδον: so **B<sup>2</sup>**; ιδου A.

5. εχων: so **B<sup>2</sup>NA**; εχον P.

6. ζ̄: so **B<sup>2</sup>** (επτα); om. A.

απεσπα . [ : probably the second π is a mere slip of the pen and απεσταλμενα (**NA**) or απεσταλμενοι (A) was intended. A slight vestige following the second a suits a λ. B has αποστελλομενα.

7. ειληφεν: so **NA**; ειληφεν την B, ειλ. το βιβλιον some cursives, &c.

Verso 5. ηνεωξεν is a confusion of the two forms ἀνέωξεν and ἤνοιξεν; the MSS. give the latter.

6. φωνην: so **NA**; om. B.

## II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS

## 1231. SAPPHO, BOOK I.

Fr. I 17.7 × 13.2 cm. Second century. Plate II  
(Frs. I, 10, 56).

The authorship of these fragments in Sapphic metre and Aeolic dialect would in any case have been evident, and it is placed beyond question by two, if not three, coincidences with fragments expressly cited from Sappho; cf. Fr. I. i. 15-16, Fr. 16. 2-3, 11-12. The title of the roll is preserved in Fr. 56, but this, curiously enough, does not mention the name of the writer, giving only the number of the book and of the verses contained in it. That it is called Book I is in agreement with the statements of grammarians that the pieces in Sapphics were all included in that book; cf. Bergk, *Poet. Lyr.* iii, p. 874. The number of verses comprised in it, we now learn, was 1320, i. e. 330 stanzas. Very likely the other eight books, or some of them, were shorter than this, but even so Sappho's entire works may well have extended to something like 9,000 verses.

Substantial additions to the exiguous surviving remnants of this large output have lately been forthcoming from Egypt, where evidently the lyric poets were still popular in the Roman period; and further welcome contributions are now made by 1231 and 1232. The gain from the former, however, proves to be less than had been hoped. Except in Fr. I, which has been built up from some twenty small pieces, the fragments have not fitted together at all well, and it is hardly to be anticipated that further efforts in this direction will produce a very different result. Still, five and a half consecutive and nearly complete stanzas of a poem of Sappho is a gift not to be despised; and for vocabulary and dialect even small and disconnected scraps have their importance. The two columns of Fr. I include remains of four poems, of which the first, as a reference to Doricha (Rhodopis) shows, was addressed, like 7, to Sappho's brother Charaxus. This is followed by what is no doubt the greater part of a graceful piece expressing the writer's deep longing for an apparently absent friend, Anactoria, whose name was already known as that of one of the intimates of the poetess; cf. note on Fr. I. i. 27-8. In the next column stood a poem of five stanzas addressed to Hera, part of which by a strange coincidence has recently appeared in P. S. I. 123, also from Oxyrhynchus. Of the succeeding verses not enough remains to indicate their theme. On what principle these poems were grouped within the

book is not evident ; apparently the principle was not similarity of subject. It is noticeable that three consecutive pieces begin respectively with the letters  $\omicron$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\omicron$  (if  $\acute{\alpha}v$  represents an original  $\acute{\alpha}v$ ), which suggests that possibly there was a rough alphabetical arrangement ; but the juxtaposition of these initial letters may be mere accident. Among the smaller fragments, Nos. 13, 14, 15, and 56 are again concerned with members of Sappho's circle, another of whom, Gongyla, is named in Fr. 15. Fr. 56 was composed in honour of a wedding.

The MS. is written in an informal upright hand, of rather less than medium size ; in style and effect this script recalls that of the Herondas papyrus, and it should be referred, like the latter, to the second century. Stops in two positions are used ; and as usual in lyrics, accents, breathings, marks of long and short quantity, and signs of elision have been added here and there. In some of these additions the ink differs from that of the text, and to a certain extent at least they may be attributed to a second hand from which have also come occasional corrections and marginalia. Strophes are divided off by paragraphi, and an elaborate coronis marks the end of each poem. The accentuation of the papyrus is in conformity with the barytone system traditionally associated with Aeolic, and also exemplified in 7. In this and other points the orthography of the originals has been adhered to so far as possible, both here and in 1232-4, even at the cost of consistency. After all it may well be that the authors themselves were not invariably consistent ; cf. Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides*, pp. 91 sqq. The views of Wilamowitz concerning the textual tradition of the Lesbian poets are substantially confirmed by the new discoveries, to the restoration and elucidation of which he has, by a fortunate combination of circumstances, himself so largely contributed.

Fr. 1. Col. i. Plate II.

- . . . . .  
 [. . . . .] ἀμάκαι[  
 [. . . . .] . υπλο . [  
 [. . . . .] . ατοσκα[  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 5 [. . . . .] βροτεκη[  
 [. . . . .] ιε . [. . . . .] .  
 [. . . . .] . νοσαλ[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [. . .] πρικα[. . .] επι[. . . . .] ανεπειρ[. . . . .]  
 10 [. . .] δεκαυχα̅σαντο̅τὸδ'εννε[. . . . .]  
 [. . .] ριχατοδευ[. . .] ερονωσποθε[. . . . .]  
 [. . .] ερονηλθε  
 [. . .] ιμενιππηωνστρονοιδεπεσδων  
 οιδεναωνφᾶ̅ισεπ[. . .] γανμελαι[. . .] αν  
 15 [. . .] μμεναικαλλιστον'εγωδεκην'ὄτ  
 τωτισεραται  
 [. . .] γχυδέυμαρεσσύνετονποησαι  
 [. . .] αντιτ[. . .] υτ'αγαρπόλυπερσκοπη[. . .] α  
 [. . .] ρσ[. . .] ρωπωνελενα[. . .] νανδρα  
 20 [. . . . .] ιστον  
 [. . . . .] σεβαστροϊα[. . .] λεσσ[. . .]  
 [. . . . .] ἀϊδοσουδεφ[. . .] λωντο[. . .] ηων  
 [. . . . .] εμνάσθ'α[. . .] παρά . . . γ'αυταν  
 [. . . . .] σαν  
 25 [. . . . .] αμπτονγαρ[  
 [. . . . .] . . . . . κουφωστ[. . . . .] ορηση  
 [. . .] λεγνυνακτορι[. . .] γ . μνα μναι  
 [. . .] ηαπειοισασ.  
 [. . .] στεβολλοιμανεράτοντεβαμα  
 30 κᾶ̅μάρυλμαλαμπρονιδηνπροσωπω



Fr. 1.

Col. i. Plate II.

[. . . . .]α μάκαι[ρα

[. . . . .] . υ<sup>ν</sup>πλο . [

[. . . . .] . ατος κα[

[

5 [. . . . .] ἄμ]βροτε κη[

[. . . . .]ιε . [ . . . . .] .

[. . . . .] . νος ἀλ[ . . . . .]

[

[Κύπρι, καί σ]ε πι[κροτέρ]αν ἔπευρ[εν.

10 [οἶ] δὲ καυχάσαντο τόδ' ἐνέ[ποντες,

[Δω]ρίχα τὸ δεύ[τ]ερον ὡς πόθε[ι]νον

[εἰς] ἔρον ἦλθε.

[Οἶ] μὲν ἱππήων στρότον οἶ δὲ πέσδων

οἶ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπ[ί] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν

15 [ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ-

τω τις ἔραται.

[πά]γχυ δ' εὔμαρες σύνετον πόησαι

[π]άντι τ[ο]ῦτ'· ἄ γὰρ πόλυ περσκόπει[σ]α

[κάλ]λος [ἀνθ]ρώπων Ἑλένα [τὸ]ν ἄνδρα

20 [κρί]νεν ἄρ]ιστον,

[ὄς τὸ πᾶν] σέβας Τροία[ς] ὀ]λεσσ[εν,

[οὐδὲ π]αῖδος οὐδὲ φ[ί]λων τσ[κ]ήων

[οὐδὲν] ἐμνάσθη, ἀ[λλὰ] παράγαγ' αὐταν

[Κύπρις] ἔραι]σαν.

25 [. . . .] εὔκ]αμπτον γὰρ [

[. . . .] . . . . κούφως τ[. . . . .] ν]οήση.

[τῆ]λε νῦν Ἀνακτορί[ας] ὀ]νεμνά-

[σθ]η(ν) ἀπεοίσας,

[τᾶ]ς (κ)ε βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα

30 κάμάρυ]μα λάμπρον ἴδην προσώπω

ηταλυδωναρματακανοπλοισι  
 [. . . . .]άχεντασ  
 [. . . . .]μενουδυνατονγενεσθαι  
 [. . . . .]ανανθρωπ[. . . .]εδεχηνδ'άρᾱσθαι

## Col. ii. Plate II.

. . . . .  
 1  
 ||| τεξᾱ[  
 ||| πλασ[  
 - ποτ[.]η[  
 ταναρατ[  
 5 τοιβασιλ[  
 εκτελεσ[  
 πρωταμ[  
 τυ[.]δαπο[  
 ουκεδυν[  
 10 πρινσε[  
 καιθυων[  
 νυνδεκ[  
 καττοπα[  
 αγνακαικα[  
 15 [.]αρθ[  
 [.]μφισ[  
 2 lines lost.  
 . . ανιλ[  
 20 εμμεν[  
 ||| ραπι[  
 ||| ἄνκεδ[  
 ηνέπην[  
 γλωσσαμ[  
 25 μυθολογ[  
 κᾱνδρι[  
 μεσδον[

ἢ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα κὰν ὄπλοισι(ν)

[ἵππομ]άχευτας.

[εὐ μὲν ἴδ]μεν οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι

[τοῦτ'] ἀν' ἀνθρώπ[οις, π]εδέχην δ' ἄρασθαι

Col. ii. Plate II.

. . . . .  
τ' ἐξ ἀδοκῆ[τω.

Πλάσιον δὴ μ[

πότνι' Ἡρα, σὰ χ[

τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρ[εΐδαι

5 τοι βασίλῃες

ἐκτελέσσαντες [

πρῶτα μὲν π[

τύιδ' ἀπορμάθε[ντες

οὐκ ἐδύναντο,

10 πρὶν σὲ καὶ Δί' ἀντ[

καὶ Θυῶνας ἱμ[ερόεντα παῖδα·

νῦν δὲ κ[

κὰτ τὸ πα[

ἄγνα καὶ κα[

15 [π]αρθ[εν

[ἀ]μφὶ σ[

2 lines lost.

. . . ἀνιλ[

20 ἔμμεν[αι

ραπι[

Ἄν κ' ἐδ[εξάμαν

ἠνέπην [

γλῶσσα μ[

25 μυθολογ[

κᾶνδρι [

μέσδον [

Fr. 2.	Fr. 3.	Fr. 4.
. . .	. . .	. . .
] . . .	]οσθ'	]σα[
]μενοισα[	]αταισ[	]ταμ[
]θ'ενθυοισι[	]τύχᾱιν[	]αἰεντ[
]εχοισανεσλ[	]ρ[	]δεσ[
5 ] . . .	. . .	5 ]ιον[
]ειδεβαισα[	Fr. 5.	] '[
]υγαριδμεν[	. . .	. . .
]ινεργων	. . .	Fr. 6.
] . . .	] . ιων[	. . .
10 ]δυπισσω[	]μετριακα[	. . .
]απικυδ[	]αθυδου . [	]υθεμ[
. . .	]αγ[	]ετικ[
]ταδειπη[	. . .	]όλει[
. . .		] . . .
		5 ]τέσ[
		. . .
Fr. 7.	Fr. 8.	
. . .	. . .	
]δ[	]αιρειδ[	
] . ακα[	. . .	
]τισαι[		
. . .		
Fr. 9.	Fr. 10. Plate II.	
. . .	. . .	
]επι[.]εσμα[	] . . .	
]ε·γανοςδεκαι[	]λεπαβολησ[	
] . . .	]νδόλοφυν[. . . ]ει	
]υχαισυνέσλαι . [	]τρομεροισπ . [ . . . ]λλα	
5 ]οσκρητησαι	5 ] . . .	

	Fr. 2.	Fr. 3.	Fr. 4.
	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
	] . . . . .	πρ]όσθ' [	]σα[
	] μεινοισα[	]αταισ[	]ταμ[
	]θ' ἐν θύοισι[ν	] τύχα νι[	]αίεν τ[
	] ἔχοισαν ἔσλ[	]ρ[	]δεσ[
5	] . . . . .	. . . . .	5 ]ιον[
	]ει δὲ βαισα[		] \
	ο]ὺ γὰρ ἴδμεν	Fr. 5.	. . . . .
	]ιν ἔργων	. . . . .	
	] . . . . .	] . ιων[	Fr. 6.
10	]δ' ὑπίσσω	] μέτρια κα[ἰ	]νθεμ[
	κ]άπικύδ[	β]άθου δου . [	]ετι κ[
	] τόδ' εἶπη[	]αν[	]όλει[
	. . . . .	. . . . .	] . . . . .
			5 ]τέσ[
			. . . . .
	Fr. 7.		Fr. 8.
	. . . . .		. . . . .
	]δ[		]αίρει δ[
	] . ακα[		. . . . .
	]τισαι[		
	. . . . .		
	Fr. 9.		Fr. 10. Plate II.
	. . . . .		. . . . .
	] ἐπί[.]εσμα[		] . . . . .
	]ε' γάνος δὲ καὶ [		]λ' ἐπάβολ' ἦσ[
	] . . . . .		]ν δόλοφυν [. . . .]ει
	τ]ύχα σὺν ἔσλα . [		] τρομέροις π . [. . .]λλα
5	]ος κρέτησαι		5 ] . . . . .

	]ασμελαινας	]χροαγηρασηδη <sup>α</sup> . [
	]	]ναμφιβασκει· <sup>κ'</sup> . .
	]ελοισιναυται	]σπεταταιδιωκων
	]εγαλαισαηται[	]
10	]ακαπιχερσω[	10 ]τασαγάνας
	]	]μαλαβοισα
	]μοθενπλειοιμ[	]αισιοναμμι
	]δεταφόρτικ[	]
	]νατιμ'επέικη[	]ρωνμαλιστα
15	]	15 ]ασπ[.]άναται[
	]ρεοντιπόλλ . [	. . . . .
	]αιδέκε[	
	]ει	Fr. 11.
	]	. . . . .
20	]νεργα[	]
	]χερσω[.]	]ανταμε[
	]γα	] . ιποτνια[
	]	]αψατ[
	]ρ . [	5 ]ον
	. . . . .	. . . . .

## Fr. 12.

. . . . .  
 ]βλα[  
 ]εργον[. .]λάτ[ε[  
 ]νρεθοσδοκι[  
 ]ησθαι  
 5 ]νανάδηνχ[  
 ]εμή·χειμω[  
 ]τισαναλγα . [  
 ]δε  
 ]τ[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 13.

. . . . .  
 ]ανάγ . [  
 ]εμνᾶσεσθ'α[  
 ]μμεσεννεο[  
 ]ποιημμεν·  
 5 ]ενγαρκαικα[  
 ]μεν·πολι[  
 ]σ[.]ειαισθ[  
 . . . . .

	γ]ās μελαίνας		] χρόα γῆρας ἤδη	α . [
	]		]ν ἀμφιβάσκει	κ(αί) . . [
	]έλοισι ναῦται		]ς πέταται διώκων	
	μ]εγάλαις ἀήται[ς		]	
10	]α κάπῃ χέρω	10	] τᾶς ἀγαύας	
	]		]μα· λάβοισα	
	ἀ]μοθεν πλέοιμ[		] ἄεισον ἄμμι	
	] δὲ τὰ φόρτι' εἰκ[		]	
	]ν ἄτιμ' ἐπεικη[		]ρων μάλιστα	
15	]	15	]ας π[λ]άναται [	
	] ρέοντι πόλλ . [		. . . . .	
	]αι δέκε[σθαι			
	]ει		Fr. 11.	
	]		. . . . .	
20	]ιν ἔργα [		]	
	] χέρω[.]		]αντα με[	
	]γα		] . ι πότνια [	
	]		]αψατ[	
	']ρ . [	5	]ον	
	. . . . .		. . . . .	

## Fr. 12.

	]βλα[
	] ἔργον· [ἀλ]λά τε [
	]ν ῥέθος δοκί[
	]ησθαι
5	]νανάδην χ[
	]ε μή· χειμω[ν
	]τοισαν ἄλγεα . [
	]δε
	ιτf
	. . . . .

## Fr. 13.

	. . . . .
	[. . . . .]ανάγ . [
	[. . . δ]ε μνάσεσθ' ἀ[σσα
	[. . . ἄ]μμες ἐν νεό[τατι
	[. . . ἐ]πόημεν,
5	[. . . μ]ὲν γὰρ καὶ κά[λα
	[εἴ]χο]μεν· πολί[
	[. . . χ]ο[ρ]εῖαις δι[
	. . . . .

## Fr. 14.

. . . . .  
 ]ερωτοσηδη[  
 ]  
 ]τιονεισιδωσ[  
 ]ρμιονᾶτεαυ[. .]  
 5 ]ξανθαιδ'ελεναισεισ[.]ην  
 ]κεσ  
 ]μισθναταισ·τοδεδ'ίσ[.]τᾶισᾶι  
 ]πάισανκεμετανμερίμᾶν  
 ]λαῖσ'αντιδ[. . ' . .]θοισδε  
 10 ] τ[. .]ασε  
 ]τασοχθοισ  
 ]τᾶιν  
 ]νυχισ[.]ην  
 ] [

## Fr. 15.

. . . . .  
 [.]·γ·[. . . . .]ελομαισ[  
 [.]·γυλα·[. . .]νθιλαβοισαμα·[  
 [.]·κτιναγσεδηῦτεποθοστ·[  
 αμφιποταται  
 5 τανκαλαν·ᾶγαρκατάγωγισάντα[  
 επτοαισ'ιδοισαν·εγωδεχαιρω  
 καιγαράνταδῆτ[.]·εμεμφ[  
 [.]υπρογέν[  
 [.]ασᾶρᾶμα[  
 10 τουτοτω[  
 [.]ολλομα[

## Fr. 16.

. . . . .  
 [.]θαμεω[  
 [.]ττινα[



## Fr. 14.

. . . . .  
 ] ἔρωτος ἤδη  
 ]  
 [. . . . . ὡς γὰρ ἄν]τιον εἰσίδω σ[ε  
 [. . . . . ]'Ε]ρμόνα τ(ο)αύ[ταν  
 5 [οὐδαμα,] ξάνθα δ' Ἐλένα σ' εἰσ[κ]ην  
 [οὐδὲν ἀει]κες,  
 [αἰ θέ]μις θνάταις· τόδε δ' ἴσ[θι] τᾶ σᾶ  
 [. . . . .] παίσαν κέ με τᾶν μερίμναν  
 [. . . . .]λαισ' ἀντιδ[. . . . .]θοις δὲ  
 10 [ . . . . . ] τ[. . .]ασε  
 ]τας ὄχθοις  
 ]ταιν  
 παν]υχίσ[δ]ην  
 ] [

## Fr. 15.

. . . . .  
 [. . . ν . . . . . κ]έλομαι σ[  
 [Γο]γγύλα . . . . .]νθι λάβοισα μα . [  
 [γλα]κτίναν· σὲ δηῦτε πόθος τ . [  
 ἀμφιπόταται  
 5 τὰν κάλαν· ἀ γὰρ κατάγωγις αὐτα  
 ἐπτόαισ' ἴδοισαν· ἔγω δὲ χαίρω·  
 καὶ γὰρ αὐτα δὴ τ[όδ]ε μέμφ[εταί σοι  
 [Κ]υπρογέν[ηα.  
 [τ]ᾶς ἄραμα[ι  
 10 τοῦτο τῶ[  
 [β]όλλομα[ι

## Fr. 16.

. . . . .  
 [. . . . .] θαμέω[ν  
 [. . . . .] ὄ]ττινα[ς γὰρ

[. . . . .]λισταπα[  
 [. . . . .].  
 5 [. . . . .]ἄλεμάτ[  
 [. . . . .]·γωνωμ[  
 [. . . . .]ομόουπρ[  
 [. . . . .]αι  
 [. . . . .]σέ·θελω[  
 10 [. . . . .]τοπάθη[  
 [. . . . .]λαν·εγωδεμ'[  
 [. . . . .]νίδα  
 [. . . . .]·[·]στοισ[· . .]· [·]  
 [. . . . .]·εναμ[  
 15 [. . . . .]ξ[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 17.

. . . .  
 ]νθα[  
 ]ωομ[  
 ]ωνυν[  
 ]εραντ[  
 5 ]· πάππ[  
 ]όλμᾶν[  
 ]ανθρω[  
 ]ονεχ[  
 ]παισ[  
 . . . .

## Fr. 19.

. . . . .  
 ]πεπλ[  
 ]· [·]ορμοισ[·]τξ[  
 ]· [· . .]· [·]ω  
 ]· α[· . .]· [· .]απoi[

## Fr. 18.

. . . . .  
 ]γμε· [·  
 ]προν[·]  
 ]νύᾶσεπ[  
 ]βρα·  
 5 ]γλᾶθαν' εσ[·  
 ]ησμεθ· [·  
 ]νυθαλα[·  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 20.

. . . . .  
 ]  
 ]ων  
 ]  
 ]



5	] . ω[ . . . ]τ[ ] . ιγφ[ . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] . [ ] . ] . [ . ] . [	5 ]αιρα ]φ· ]νον · . .
. . . . .		

Fr. 21.	Fr. 22.	Fr. 23.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
]ν[ . . ] . [ . . . ] . [ ] . ιτασαδ[ ]τανοεισαι[ ]πρ[	] . αι ]επτοφών[ ] . ατ[ · . . .	]δέμαν[ ]νίφοι[ ]ντι . [ . ] · . . .
. . . . .		

Fr. 24.	Fr. 25.	Fr. 26.	Fr. 27.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
]λπ[ ]πρ[ . ]νε[ ]ελιτισθ[ ] 5 ]μινα[ · . . .	] ] . έδαφ[ ]αικατε[ ]ανέλο[ 5 ] ]φ[ · . . .	]κ[ . ]μ[ ]τεσχο[ ]σθ' ε[ . ]σι[ ] . ασ[ 5 ]κ[ · . . .	] . . . [ . ]πα[ ]ξά[ ]νε[ 5 ]φ[ · . . .
. . . . .			

Fr. 28.	Fr. 29.	Fr. 30.	Fr. 31.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
]προστερο[ ]ρισιν·κα[ ] . γφ[ · . . .	] . . . [ . ]ωνγεν[ ]οσ· ]ν[ · . . .	]μαλι[ ]ενπυρ[ ]τεμε[ · . . .	] . . . ]δασ[ ] ]λθε ]αν · . . .
. . . . .			

5	] . ω[ . . . . ] τ[	5 μάκ]αιρα
	] . ιγο[ . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] . [	]ο·
	]	]νον
	] . [ . ] . [	. . . .

Fr. 21.

Fr. 22.

Fr. 23.

. . . . .  
 ]ν[ . . ] . [ . . . ] . [ .  
 ] . ι τās ἀδ[  
 ]τα νοεισαι[  
 ]πο[  
 . . . . .

. . . . .  
 ] . αι  
 λ]επτοφών[  
 ] . ατ' [ .  
 . . . . .

. . . . .  
 ]δ' έμαύτ  
 ] νίψοι[  
 ]ντι . [ .  
 ]  
 . . . . .

Fr. 24.

Fr. 25.

Fr. 26.

Fr. 27.

. . . . .  
 ]λπ[  
 ]πέ[ . ]νέ[  
 μ]έλιτι σθ[  
 ]  
 5 ]μινα[  
 . . . . .

. . . . .  
 ]  
 ] . έδαφ[ος  
 ]αι κατέ[  
 ]ανέλο[  
 5 ]  
 ]φ[  
 . . . . .

. . . . .  
 ]ς[ . ]μ[  
 ]τες χθό]ν  
 ]σθ' έ[ . ]σι[  
 ] . ασ[  
 5 ]κ[  
 . . . . .

. . . . .  
 ] . . . [ .  
 ]πα[  
 ]εξα[  
 ]νέ[  
 5 ]ω[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 28.

Fr. 29.

Fr. 30.

Fr. 31.

] προστετο[  
 ]τισιν, κα[  
 ] . γο[  
 . . . . .

. . . . .  
 ] . . . [ .  
 ]ων γεμ[  
 ]ος,  
 ]ν[  
 . . . . .

. . . . .  
 ] μάλι]στα  
 ]εν πυρ[  
 ]τεμέ[  
 . . . . .

. . . . .  
 ]δασ[  
 ]  
 ]λθε  
 ]αν  
 . . . . .

Fr. 32.		Fr. 33.	Fr. 34.
Col. i.	Col. ii.	]. α[. ]σαι	. .
	× [	]	]
]ππου	× . [	]ου	]
]σεσευ[	. .	]	]α
]		. . .	]οσ
]ρογ[			5 ]σ
. . .			. .
Fr. 35.	Fr. 36.	Fr. 37.	Fr. 38.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
[. .] . [	προσ[	] . ατ . [	]ρα[
ο . . [	ωσδ[	]σλεγεται . [	]αι [
κυπ[	[. .] . [	]τηγ[	] . [
του[	. . .	. . .	. . .
5 φ[			
. . .			
Fr. 39.	Fr. 40.	Fr. 41.	Fr. 42.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
]εγω . [	]ανθε[	] . . [	]ντ[
]κατα[	]στ[	]αταθ[	]εσθ[
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Fr. 43.	Fr. 44.	Fr. 45.	Fr. 46.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
] . [	]πεδ[	]ν[	]σ[
]νω[	]τ[	]τε . [	]π[
] [	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .			
Fr. 47.	Fr. 48.	Fr. 49.	
. . .	. . .	. . .	
]εν . [	]ου[	] . νλ[	
. . .	. . .	. . .	

Fr. 32.		Fr. 33.	Fr. 34.
Col. i.	Col. ii.	]. α[. ]σαι	. .
]ππου	. [	]	]
] σεσευ[	. .	]ου	]
]		]	]α
]ρον		. . .	]ος
. . .			]ς
			. .
Fr. 35.	Fr. 36.	Fr. 37.	Fr. 38.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
[. .] . [	προσ[	] . ατ . [	]ρα[
ο . . [	ὡς δ[	]ς λέγεται . [	]αι
Κυπ[ρ	[. .] . [	]την[	] . [
του[τ	. . .	. . .	. . .
5 φ[			
. . .			
Fr. 39.	Fr. 40.	Fr. 41.	Fr. 42.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
] ἔγω . [	]ανθε[	] . . [	]ντ[
] κατα[	]στ[	]αταδ[	]εσθ[
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Fr. 43.	Fr. 44.	Fr. 45.	Fr. 46.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
] . [	] πεδ[	]ν[	]σ[
]νω[	]τι[	]τε . [	]π[
]	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .			
Fr. 47.	Fr. 48.	Fr. 49.	
. . .	. . .	. . .	
]εν . [	]ον[	] . ν λ[	
. . .	. . .	. . .	

Fr. 50.

. . . .  
 [. . . .]καιγαρ[  
 [. . . .]ινεσμεμ[  
 [. . . .]ξαλεξαι·κ[  
 [. . . .]δραχαρισσα[  
 5 [. . . .]τειχομενγαρ[  
 [. . . .]ισντουτ·αλλ[  
 [. . . .]ρ[.]ενοισάπ[  
 [. . . .]ενεχοιεν[  
 . . . .

Fr. 51.

. . . .  
 ]γωδεκ[  
 ]  
 ]ον·ευδε[  
 ]αχιστα[  
 5 ]εμ[[<sup>π</sup>η]]ε·θεοι[  
 ]  
 ]ανεισολ[  
 ]άικ· [  
 . . . .

Fr. 52.

. . . .  
 ]λαιγ[  
 ]ροσ[  
 ]  
 ]ποτ[  
 5 ]ταυτα[  
 . . . .

Fr. 53.

. . . .  
 ]ιδοσμ[  
 ]νθρω[  
 . . . .

Fr. 54.

. . . .  
 ]σι·  
 ]ηστ[  
 ]πεσ[  
 . . . .

Fr. 55.

. . . .  
 ]  
 ]εδόνη[  
 ]απάμ[  
 ]ρησμε· [  
 5 ]  
 ]δαιξαφ[  
 ]μ[  
 . . . .

Fr. 56. Plate II.

. . . . .  
 υκτ[. . .]· [   
 παρθενοιδ[  
 παννυχισδομ[  
 σαναειδοι[  
 5 φασιοκολπω[  
 αλλεγερθη[  
 στειχεσοισ[  
 ήπεροσσονα[  
 υπνου[.]δωμε[  
 10 μ̄ελω̄ ᾱ [   
 χηηηδδ



## Fr. 50.

. . . .  
 [. . . .] καὶ γὰρ [  
 [. . τ]ινες μεμ[  
 [. .] ζάλεξαι· κ[  
 [ἄ]δρα χαρισσα[  
 5 [σ]τείχομεν γὰρ [  
 [. .]ι σὺ τοῦτ· ἀλλ' [  
 [πα]ρ[θ]ένοις ἄπ[  
 [. . .]εν ἔχοιεν

## Fr. 51.

. . . .  
 ἔ]γω δὲ κ[  
 ]  
 ]ον· εὖ δὲ [  
 τ]άχιστα [  
 5 π]έμπε· θεοί[  
 ]  
 ]ανεις ὀλ[  
 ]αίκ· . [

## Fr. 52.

. . . .  
 ]λαι γ[  
 ]νοσ[  
 ]  
 ]ποτ[  
 5 ] ταυτα[  
 . . . .

## Fr. 53.

. . . .  
 ]ιδος μ[  
 ἀ]νθρωπ[  
 . . . .

## Fr. 54.

. . . .  
 ]σι·  
 ]ηστ[  
 ]πες[  
 . . . .

## Fr. 55.

. . . .  
 ]  
 ]' ἐδόνη[  
 ]απάμ[  
 ]ρῆσμε· [  
 5 ]  
 ]δαι ζαφ[  
 ]μ[  
 . . . .

## Fr. 56. Plate II.

. . . . .  
 νυκτ[. . .]· [  
 πάρθενοι δ[ἔ  
 παννυχίσδομ[εν  
 σὰν αἰείδοι[σαι φιλότατα καὶ νύμ-  
 5 φας ἰοκόλπω.  
 ἀλλ' ἐγέρθη[τ'  
 στεῖχε σοῖς [  
 ἥπερ ὄσσον α[  
 ὕπνον [ἴ]δωμε[ν.  
 10 μελῶν α.  
 χηηηδδ.

Fr. 1. i. 1-6. These lines are on a detached fragment, the position of which is hardly certain, but is suggested partly by a strongly marked fibre on the verso, partly by similarities at the point of juncture on the recto. The length of the lacuna before ἀμ]βροτε is not a serious difficulty, the space being no greater than that before ἀ[λλά] in l. 23.

2. The first letter is apparently either *a* or *ε*.

9-10. Restored by W(ілamowitz)-M(öllendorff).

11. Doricha, whose name was recognized here by W-M, is not mentioned in the previously extant fragments. Her reappearance here gives fresh substance to the lines of Posidippus Σαπφῶαι δὲ μένουσι φίλης ἔτι καὶ μενέουσιν ῥῶδης αἰλευκαὶ φβεγγόμεναι σελίδες οὖνομα σὸν μακαριστόν.

13-34. 'Some say that the fairest thing on the black earth is a host of horsemen, others of foot, others of ships; but I say that is fairest which is the object of one's desire. And it is quite easy to make this plain to all; for Helen observing well the beauty of men judged the best to be that one who destroyed the whole glory of Troy, nor bethought herself at all of child or parents dear, but through love Cypris led her astray. [Verily the wills of mortals are easily bent when they are moved by vain thoughts.] And I now have called to mind Anactoria, far away, whose gracious step and radiant glance I would rather see than the chariots of the Lydians and the charge of accoutred knights. We know well that this cannot come to pass among men . . .'

14. γᾶν μέλαιναν: cf. Sapph. 1. 10, and Fr. 9. 6 below, 1233. Fr. 1. ii. 17. But the gen. or dat. would be expected rather than the accus., and possibly μέλαιναν is a gen. plural in agreement with νίων (cf. e. g. Alc. 18. 2) and γᾶν an error for γᾶς or γᾶ.

15-16. ἔγω . . . ἔραται = Sapph. 13.

18-19. The reading here is very uncertain. At the end of l. 18 σκ is followed by a rounded letter, *ε*, *ο*, or possibly *α*; and next to this is a rather high stroke turning over to the left, which would suit *ρ* or perhaps *δ*; cf. ἰδην in l. 30. The termination may be either οἰ[σ]α or εἰ[σ]α. Near the beginning of the next line an interlineated *α*, *δ*, or *λ* is more probable than a grave accent; and below this are vestiges of what seem to have been round letters. The reading adopted gives a fair sense and suits the remains sufficiently well, if the left shoulder of the π in σκοπέῖσα be supposed to have scaled off; σκεδοῖ[σ]α, apart from the dubious form, has led to no satisfactory restoration. The omission of one of the lambdas of κάλλος is a not unlikely error.

*a* before γαρ has been retouched or corrected.

23. παράγαγε seems to be the right word, and γα is possible, though not suggested by the very small vestiges remaining from the tops of the letters. Fr. 35 is not to be assigned to this stanza; cf. the note there.

25-6. These two lines apparently contained a general reflection on the weakness of human nature. εὔκ]αμπτον was restored by W-M.

27-8. W-M's reconstruction of these two verses has been provisionally adopted, though it cannot be considered very satisfactory. The supposition of a corruption in a mutilated word is generally objectionable; moreover the π of απεισας, though not impossible, is really more like ρ, i. e. ] παρεισας, not ]η απεισας, is the more natural reading. But it seems difficult to adapt this to the preceding remains and the apparent sense. If, as would rather be gathered from the gist of the whole poem, Anactoria was absent, οὐ must precede παρεισας, and there might also be room in the lacuna for another letter, e. g. κοῦ or -σ' οὐ. In l. 27 ]νεμνα is suitable, but μεμνα is equally possible; of the *ε* there is hardly anything left. For the marginal v. l. νμναι cf. the spelling μέμναισθ', ἀμναῖσαι in the Berlin fragment (*Klassikertexte*, V. ii. 13. 2. 8 and 10). At the beginning of the line λ is far from certain, and σ might well be substituted.

The name Ἀνακτορία is given by Maximus Tyrius, *De am. Socr.* ὅ,τι γὰρ ἐκείνη Ἀλκιβιάδης . . . τοῦτο τῇ Λεσβίᾳ Γύρινα καὶ Ἀθθίς καὶ Ἀ. In Suidas, s.v. Σαπφώ, she appears as Ἀναγόρα Μιλησία; the same person is doubtless meant.

29. ρ of *ερατον* appears to have been corrected. The mark of length above the *a* may be due to confusion with *ἀρατόν*; cf. P. S. I. 123. 5, where *ἐράταν* has been written as a variant above *ἀράταν*.

31. ῆ is for *μᾶλλον ῆ* according to the not infrequent use with verbs implying preference. For the comparison cf. Sapph. 85 ἔστι μοι κάλα πάϊς . . . ἀντὶ τὰς ἐγὼ οὐδὲ Λυδίας πᾶσαν κτλ.

32. ἵππο- was suggested by W-M. *a* in the termination is written through an *ε*.

33-4. Restored by W-M, who as a completion of the stanza proposes, *exempli gratia*, ἔστι πᾶρ θεῶν μακάρων ἔκοισαν τῶν παρεόντων. For the neglected diagrapha cf. Fr. 2. 7, and for the accent on *γένεσθαι* 1233. Fr. 8. 4 λάθε[σθ]αι, which conflicts with *γενέσθαι* in 7. 6. ἀν(ί) is written also in ii. 22, 1232. Fr. 1. ii. 11 ἀνόρουσε, but *ὀνεδέχυντο* and *ὀκαλέοντες* in 1232. Fr. 1. iii. 2 and 5; cf. 1234. Fr. 2. ii. 7-8, Fr. 4. 9. A mark of short quantity seems to have been substituted for a mark of length above the first *a* of *αρασθαι*.

ii. 1-11. These lines correspond with the fragment, also from Oxyrhynchus, recently published in P. S. I. 123, where rather more of the verses is preserved than here in 1231; their extent is shown by the brackets in the reconstruction above. The following tentative restoration by W-M of ll. 2-11 is printed by Vitelli *ad loc.*:

Πλάσιον δὴ μοι κατ' ὄναρ παρέστα,  
 πότνι' Ἥρα, σὰ χαρίεσσα μόρφα  
 τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρείδαι ἴδον πρῶ-  
 τοι βασιλῆες·  
 ἐκτελέσσαντες γὰρ Ἄρεος ἔργον  
 πρῶτα μὲν παρ' ὠκυρόω Σκαμάνδρου  
 τυτὶδ' ἀπορμάθεντες ὄδον τελέσσαι  
 οὐκ ἐδύνατο,  
 πρὶν σὲ καὶ Δί' ἀντόμενοι μέγιστον  
 καὶ Θνώνας ἱμερόντα παῖδα . . .

This seems to express successfully the general sense, but some modification is at any rate required in ll. 10-11, where a verb is essential in order to complete the sentence before *νῦν δέ* in l. 12; *μέγιστον* might be replaced by e.g. *κάλεσαν* (W-M) or *μάλαξαν*.

1. Opposite this line in P. S. I. 123 the variant *τῶμον*, attributed to Νι( ) (cf. 1174. iv. 23, note), is entered in the left margin. There can be little doubt that this annotation referred to the preceding column, in accordance with the usual practice of scribes at this period. But since the relative lengths of the columns of P. S. I. 123 and 1231 is indeterminate, the line concerned cannot be identified in Col. i of 1231.

2. The *η* has been corrected from *α*.

4. In P. S. I. 123 the unmetrical v. l. *ἐράταν* is written above *ἀράταν*.

8. τυ[ ]δ': so 7. 2; cf. von Wilamowitz, *Textgesch. der Lyriker*, p. 51<sup>1</sup>.

10. Δί' ἀντ[ ], not *διάν* τ[ ], is indicated by P. S. I. 123, where marks of short quantity have been added above both vowels.

20-1. Perhaps Ἥρα, as W-M suggests.

22. ἐδ[ε]ξάμαν W-M. For *ἄν* instead of the Aeolic *ἄν* cf. i. 33-4, note.

Frs. 2-8. These small pieces have been placed together here on account of certain similarities in the appearance of their versos and that of the first column of Fr. 1; but the resemblance may be misleading.

**Fr. 2.** 2. *μενοισα*: the *a* is likely to be the final letter of the line.

7. ο]υ̅: or ε]β̅.

8. Cf. Fr. 9. 20, and for the neglect of the digamma e. g. Sapph. 19. 3.

12. Either εἴπη[ν or εἴπη[ or -η]ς.

**Fr. 4.** 6. The supposed grave accent may be part of an interlineated letter like *a* or *λ*.

**Fr. 9.** 4. There seems to have been a marginal note opposite this line.

5. *κρέτησαι*: of Alc. 82 *ἐπικρέτει*, and Johannes Gram. *Compend.* iii. 1 *κρέτος*.

16. *πολλ* . [ seems more likely than *πομπ* . [, but neither is satisfactory.

**Fr. 10.** 2. ]λ' *ἐπάβολ'* ἦσ[ : or *χα]λέπα' βόλησ[ε* (= *ἀβόλ.*), as W-M suggests.

3. *δόλοφον* is an unknown form, which may perhaps be connected with Hesychius' *δολφός* = *δελφύς*. There is a dot above the second *o*, but this is presumably accidental, since the omission of the *o* would dislocate the metre.

12. It is probable that Alc. (?) 63 *ἄεισον ἄμμι τὰν ἰόκολλον* is to be recognized here.

**Fr. 11.** 2. An ink-mark above the vestige of the first letter suggests an interlinear correction or variant rather than an accent.

**Fr. 12.** 5. ]*γναδάην* is an obscure form.

6. Perhaps [*αι δ*]ε *μή* (W-M); but this will involve equally short supplements in the preceding and following lines.

**Fr. 13.** This fragment is evidently addressed to some of Sappho's companions. The length of the lacuna at the beginnings of the lines has been estimated on the basis of l. 6; with a longer supplement there the others would need to be proportionately lengthened.

2 sqq. Cf. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, V. ii. 13. 2. (2) 10-11 [*σὺ δέ*] λ[*ά*]θαι ὄσα . . . . .] *καὶ κἄλ' ἐπάσχομεν κτλ.* ἀ[*σ*]σα W-M.

5-7. Restored by W-M, who further proposes *πόλλα μ]έν* and *πόλλ[αις δὲ θεῶν ἐόρταις* [*καὶ κτλ.*]. This is attractive, but *πόλλ[αις* is unsatisfactory owing to the straightness of the stroke following *πολ*, which has the appearance of the top of an *ι*. If [*πόλλα μ]έν* is adopted in l. 5, a longer verb than [*ἔχ*]ο]μεν must follow.

**Fr. 14.** A fragment apparently concerned with one of Sappho's friends, who is compared to Helen. In estimating the length of the initial lacunae in ll. 3 sqq. the supplement in l. 5 has been taken as the standard.

1. *ἦδη* is very uncertain; the two last letters might well be *λγ*, but these make an intractable combination.

3. *εἰσίδω σ[ε*: or *εἰσίδω[σι*, the comparison with Helen then being attributed to others.

4. For the spelling *τεαύ[ταν* for *τοαύ[ταν* cf. 1233. Fr. 2. ii. 5, 1234. Fr. 2. ii. 10.

5-7. The supplements at the beginnings of the lines were suggested by W-M. That in l. 7, however, is rather shorter than is expected, and *a* or *λ* might be read instead of *μ*. The accent on *ται* in this verse was possibly intended for a circumflex. For the elision before [σ[*θ*ι?] cf. 1232. Fr. 1. ii. 8, note.

8. *παῖσαν . . . μερίμναν* is noticeable, since the accentuation of such forms has been doubtful; cf. Fr. 17. 6 τ]όλμαν, 1233. Fr. 22. 3 *πολύταν*, 1234. Fr. 2. i. 6 Ἀτρεΐδα[ν].

10. The marginal entry looks like a v.l., but the reading is uncertain.

**Fr. 15.** Part of a poem addressed, as was recognized by W-M, to Gongyla of Colophon, who is known from the notice in Suidas as one of the *μαθήτριαι* of Sappho, and is named also in *Berl. Klassikertexte*, V. ii. 13. 2. (4) 4.

ll. 2-8. 'Take your milk-white robe, Gongyla, and come (?). Love again flits about

your fair form; for the sight even of the dress thrilled you. And I rejoice; for Cypris has this reproach against you.'

2. An imperative such as *πρόβαθι* is expected after [Γο]γγύλα, but is not easily obtained, the *ν* before *θι* being certain. At the end of the line the name of some article of dress is wanted, and *μα*, if rightly read, suggests *μανδύα* or an allied form, but this seems to have been a masculine garment. The doubtful *μ* might well be *ν*.

3. [γλ]ακτίναν W-M; cf. *γαλακτοφάγος*.

6. *ἐπτόαισ'*: on this analogy *ἐπτόαισεν* should replace the vulg. *ἐπτόασεν* in Sapph. 2. 6. 7-8. Restored by W-M.

**Fr. 16.** 2-4. The partial coincidence of ll. 2-3 with Sapph. 12 *ἄτινας γὰρ εὐ θέω, κῆνοί με μάλιστα σίνονται* was recognized by W-M, who suggested the restoration adopted in the text. Since the passage is quoted (*Elym. Magn.* 449. 34) in illustration of the form *θέω*, the omission of *πάντων δηῦτε*, or whatever the latter word was, would be natural enough. The supplement at the beginning of l. 3 is indeed slightly longer than would be expected from a comparison of l. 12, where the reading is practically certain; but fourteen letters instead of twelve do not constitute a serious difficulty in a script of this irregular character.

9. *ε* of *θελω* was corrected from *λ*.

11-12 = Sapph. 15 from Apollon. *De pron.* 324 b. Apollonius, who has *ζγων*, writes *ἐμ' αὔτα* as in the papyrus (cf. also Fr. 23. 1), both here and in Alc. 72. Bergk thinks *ἐμαύτα* more correct, but nevertheless prints *ἐμ' αὔτα* in the latter place.

13. The supposed stop may be the vestige of a letter, e. g. *ε*.

15. What has been taken for the tip of an *ε* is possibly a circumflex accent.

**Fr. 18.** 3. *ιγ]νάς* W-M. The acute accent on *ν* might perhaps be taken for a mark of length, but an alternative accentuation is more probable.

**Fr. 19.** 2. Perhaps [τ]οί[s] ὄρμοις or [τ]οί[s] ὄρμοισ[ι].

**Fr. 21.** 2. Perhaps *ἀδ[έλφας*.

**Fr. 23.** 1. A mark of elision has very likely disappeared after *εμ*; at any rate the accent on *ε* indicates the division *ἐμ' αὔτ* . ., as in Fr. 16. 11.

**Fr. 32.** This fragment appears to be in the same hand as the rest, and also to be written in stanzas; but ]ππου (or ]ηπου?) is difficult, and in the next line any letter following *σεν* would be expected to be partially visible. For the marginal crosses in Col. ii cf. e. g. 841. A. iii. 31 &c., P. S. I. 123. 12. **Fr. 33** also is doubtfully included here.

**Fr. 35.** A junction of two selides is apparently to be recognized in this fragment, which cannot therefore be assigned to Fr. 1. i. 23 sqq.

**Fr. 37.** 1. The *τ* is separated from the *α* by a slight interval, and perhaps a stop followed the latter letter.

**Frs. 50-5.** These pieces are put together as having been found rather apart from the rest; but combinations with them are of course not to be excluded on that account.

**Fr. 52.** This fragment possibly joins on above l. 1 of Fr. 51.

**Fr. 56.** Conclusion of an epithalamium.

1. The doubtful *κ* might be *μ*, but the stroke following is too short for *φ*.

4. *φιλότατα καί* W-M.

6. Cf. Theocr. xviii. 54-5 *εὔδερ' ἐς ἀλλάλων στέρνον φιλότατα πνέοντες καὶ πόθον, ἐγρέσθαι δὲ πρὸς ἄω μῆπιλάθησθε. ἐγέρθε[ις]* might also be read.

7. *σοίς*: sc. *ἐταίροις, φίλοις*, or some equivalent.

11. Similar stichometrical figures are found e. g. in P. Brit. Mus. 128, 732, and some of the Herculanum papyri.

1232. SAPPHO, BOOK *ii.*Fr. *1* 13.3 × 29.6 cm.Third century. Plate *I*  
(Fr. *1*, Cols. *ii*-*iii*).

Parts of three columns from the end of a roll, written in rapidly formed sloping uncials of medium size, and dating probably from the first half of the third century. Stops (in the high position), accents, and other signs have been inserted with some frequency, as usual in lyrics. How far they are to be credited to the original scribe is not easily determined; some of them may well have been added subsequently, especially if, as is quite possible, a second hand is to be recognized in the marginal adscript at Fr. *1*. *ii.* 3.

The attribution to Sappho is given by the subscription at the end of Fr. *1*. *iii.*, and is further confirmed by the coincidence of *ii.* 10 with a citation from the second book by Athenaeus; moreover, it was already known from Hephaest. p. 42 that that book consisted of pieces in the so-called Sapphic pentameter of fourteen

Fr. *1.*Col. *i.*

	.	.	.	.	.
				]	
				]	
				]εγαρ	
				]καλοσ	
5				]· άκαλακλονει	
				]καματοσφρενα[[σ]]	
				]εκατισδανε[.]	
				]αλλαγιτωφιλαι	
				]αγχιγαραμερα	
10				]	
				]	
				]·	
				]	
				]	
				]	
	.	.	.	.	.

syllables (cf. Sappho 32-7), which is the metre of the present fragments. They consist of remains of two poems. Of the first, composed for some nightly festival (cf. i. 8-9), no more than a few words from the conclusion remains. The rest of Col. i is blank, with slight vestiges of ink in one spot at the edge of the papyrus. The natural explanation, that ll. 1-9 were succeeded by some shorter verses in a different metre, is excluded by the statement of Hephaestion just referred to, unless the papyrus be supposed to have contained not a single book, but extracts from several; cf. note on iii. 8. It may be suggested as an alternative that a title stood here in Col. i; and it happens that a portion of such a title, having the words Σα[πφοῦς | μ]ε[λῶν, was actually found, with other literary fragments, in company with 1232. Possibly that fragment is to be assigned to this position. Cols. ii-iii, in which is preserved part of a poem on the marriage of Hector and Andromache, will then have been added as an afterthought, perhaps from some other source.

We are indebted to Mr. E. Lobel for several good suggestions on the text of this papyrus.

Fr. 1.	Col. i.
	. . . . .
	]ν
	]
	]λε γὰρ
	] κάλος
5	] . ἀκαλα κλόνει
	] κάματος φρένας
	]ε κατισδάνει[ι]
	] ἀλλ' ἄγιτ', ὦ φίλοι,
	] , ἄγχι γὰρ ἀμέρα.
10	]
	]
	] .
	]
	]
	]
	. . . . .

## Col. ii. Plate I.

. . . . .  
 κυπρο . [ 22 letters ] αι.  
 καρυξήληθ[.]θ . [ . . . . . ] ελε[. . .] . θεισ  
 ἰδασταδεκα[.] . [.]φ[. .] . ισταχυσαγγελος <sup>ανω</sup>  
 τᾶστάλλασασιαστ[.]δε . ανκλεοσαφθιτον  
 5 εκτωρκαισυνέταιρ[.]ξαγοισελικωπιδα  
 θηβασεξιερασπλακισαπαᾶ[.]ναω  
 αβρανανδρομαχανενιναῦσινεπαλμυρον  
 ποντονπολλαδ[. .]γματαχρῦσιακάματα  
 πορφυρ[.]αλαταύτ[.]ναπόκιλαθυρματα  
 10 αργυρ[. .]αναρ[.]μα[. .]ρ[.]καλεφᾶισ  
 ωσειποτραλεωσδαγορουσεπατ[.]φιλοσ  
 φαμαδηληθεκαταπτολινευρυχ[. .]νφιλοσ  
 ἀντικιλιαδαισατιναι[.]υπευτροχοισ  
 ἀγ[.]ναιμοιοισεπ[.]βαινεδεπαισοχλοσ  
 15 γυναικωντάμαπαρθενικά[.]τετ[. .]υσφυρων  
 χῶρισδανπεραμοιοθυγ[.]τρεσ[  
 ιππ[. .]δανδρεσύπαγονυπαρ[  
 π[. .]εσηι[.]εοιμεγάλω[.]τιδ[  
 δ[. . .] . ανιοχοιφ[  
 20 π[. . .]ξαγο[

## Fr. 2.

. . . . .  
 ]κελοιθει  
 ]αγνοναολ[  
 ]νονεσιλιο[  
 ]τονεμιγνυ[  
 5 ]ωσδαραπαρ[  
 ]νεδεσ . . [



## Col. ii. Plate I.

- Κύπρο . [ 22 letters ] αι,  
 κάρυξ ἦλθ[ε] θ[. . . . .]ελε[. . .] . θεις  
 Ἰδαος τάδε κα[.] . [.]φ[. .] . ις τάχυς ἄγγελος· ἀνω  
 3 α { }  
 τᾶς τ' ἄλλας Ἀσίας τ[.]δε . αν κλέος ἄφθιτον·  
 5 Ἐκτωρ καὶ συνέταιρ[ο]ι ἄγοισ' ἐλικώπιδα  
 Θήβας ἐξ ἰάρας Πλακίας τ' ἀπ' αἰ[ι]ν(ν)άω  
 ἄβραν Ἀνδρομάχαν ἐνὶ ναῦσιν ἐπ' ἄλμυρον  
 πόντον· πόλλα δ' [ἐλί]γματα χρύσια κᾶμματα  
 πορφύρα κ]άλα τ' αὐ τ[ρό]να, ποίκιλ' ἀθύρματα,  
 10 ἀργύρα τ' ἀνάριθ]μα [ποτή]ρ[ια] κἀλέφαις.  
 ὡς εἶπ'· ὀτραλέως δ' ἀνόρουσε πάτ[ηρ] φίλος,  
 φάμα δ' ἦλθε κατὰ πτόλιν εὐρύχ[ορο]ν φίλιος.  
 αὔτικ' Ἰλιάδαι σατίναι[ς] ὑπ' εὐτρόχοις  
 ἀγ[ο]ν αἰμιόνοις, ἐπ[έ]βαινε δὲ παῖς ὄχλος  
 15 γυναικῶν τ' ἅμα παρθενικά[ν] τε τ[αν]υσφύρων·  
 χῶρις δ' αὐ Περάμοιο θύγ[α]τρει ἐπήϊσαν.  
 ἵππ[οις] δ' ἄνδρες ὑπαγον ὑπ' ἄρ[ματα] — ∪ ⊥  
 π[άντ]εσ (ἀ)ί[θ]εοι· μεγάλω[σ]τι δ[']  
 δ[. . .] . ἀνίοχοι φ[  
 20 π[. . .] ἔ]ξαγο[ν]

## Fr. 2.

- ἴ]κελοι θεοί[ς]  
 ] ἄγνον ἀόλ[λεες  
 ]νον ἐς Ἰλιο[ν  
 ]τον ἐμίγνυ[το  
 5 ]ως δ' ἄρα πάρ[θενοι  
 ]μεδες . . [

Fr. 1.

Col. iii. Plate I.

. . . . . φ[.]α . [.]ο[. . .]υεδέ[. .] . . εακ[.] . [ .  
 [ . . . . . ]ικασι<sup>ε</sup>αλιβανοστον<sup>ε</sup>διχυντο  
 γυναικε[.]δ[.]λελυσδ[.]ροσαιπρογενέστερα[  
 παντεςδανδρ[.]σεπηρατονιαχοροθιον[  
 5 | πάον'ονκαλεοντεσεκαβολονευλύραν  
 ≡ υμνηνδεκτορακανδρομαχανθεικειλο[  
 ≡  
 ≡  
 ≡  
 σαφ[.]υσ  
 μελη[ ]

i. 3. γαρ: or γαι.

6. Dots above and below the σ of φρενας were apparently intended to cancel the letter.

8. ἄγτ': cf. for the spelling 1233. Fr. 1. ii. 11, 17 ἄγι, 20 βορίας, and e. g. ιστία, ὄψι (Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* ii, pp. 384-5).

9. On the blank space below this line see introd. p. 45.

ii. 3. Ἰδαος = Ἰδαῖος; cf. Sappho 44 Φωκίας, Alc. 9. 1 Ἰθανία, &c. The mark of short quantity above the initial letter is mistaken. Below this line there has been an omission of one or more verses, which were supplied in the space at the top of the column, as indicated by the marginal ἄνω. No doubt the oblique dash to the left of the line also refers to the omission; cf. 852. Fr. 1. ii. 8.

4. Restoration here is rendered difficult by the uncertainty of sense and construction. τ[ό]δε looks likely, but what is -αν? γ' ἄν will hardly do. For the letter before αν, κ, λ, ρ, or σ would be suitable, besides γ. W-M would boldly emend to κάκ κλέος.

ll. 5-18. " . . . Hector and his comrades are bringing from sacred Thebes and Placia's everflowing streams fair bright-eyed Andromache on their ships over the salt sea, with many golden bracelets and purple robes and treasure of goodly broideries withal, and countless silver cups and ivory." Thus he said; and in haste his dear father started up, and the tidings went forth in the spacious city. Straightway the sons of Ilium yoked mules to the swift cars and all the company of the women and slender-footed maidens mounted thereon, while the daughters of Priam took their seat apart. And the men yoked horses to the chariots, even all the youths.'

6. Θήβας . . . Πλακίας: cf. Schol. A on Z 396 Ἡρακλῆς . . . κτίσας πόλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Πλάκιον ὄρος τῆς Λυκίας Πλακίαν Θήβην αὐτήν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκάλεσεν.

ἴερας, v. l. ἰάρας: ἴρος has hitherto been regarded as the old Aeolic form (cf. 1233. Fr. 2. i. 25, 1234. Fr. 1. 9), ἴερος occurring only in later inscriptions (so too Theocr. xxviii. 7), while ἰαρός is the Doric spelling, though also Boeotian. If ἴερας is the original spelling here,

Fr. 1.

Col. iii. Plate I.

. . . . .]φ[.]α . [.]ο[. . .]νεδε[. .] . . εακ[.] . [  
 [. . . . .]ι κασία λίβανός τ' ὄνεδέχυντο.  
 γύναικε[ς] δ' ἐλέλυσο[ο]ν ὄσαι προγενέστερα[ι,  
 πάντες δ' ἀνδρ[ε]ς ἐπήρατον ἴαχον ὄρθιον  
 5 πά(ω)ν' ὄνκαλέοντες ἐκάβολον εὐλύραν,  
 ὕμνην δ' Ἔκτορα κἀνδρομάχαν θεοϊκέλο[ις].

Σαφ[ο]ῦς

μέλη.

it would substantiate the view that ἴρος is a contraction of ἕρος; cf. Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* ii, p. 313.

ἀπ' ἀ[ι]ν(ν)άω: the reading is very doubtful, and unsatisfactory as involving an assumption of an error in the papyrus, but nothing else suiting the conditions suggests itself. A letter marked as long must be either α, ι, or ν; and this is followed by two dots above the line looking like the top of a ν or a diaeresis. This combination points decidedly to αῖ; and a horizontal stroke preceding may well be part of the top of a π, — γ, ζ, or τ being alternatives. There would, however, be room for a letter, if wanted, between this supposed π and the preceding α. A further objection to ἀ[ι]ν(ν)άω here is the questionable propriety of this epithet in relation to a town or district.

8. [ἐλί]γματα was restored by W-M; cf. Hesych. ἐλίγματα ψέλια. κάμματα is an interesting instance of a crasis with a word beginning with a digamma, and is to be ranked with the elisions in *Berl. Klassikertexte*, V. ii. 12. 2. 21 ἵπ' ἐμμάτων, 13. 2. (2) 8 μέναισθ' οἴσθα; cf. Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides*, pp. 94-5.

9. For τ[ρό]να, which was suggested by E. Lobel, cf. Hesych. τρόνα· ἀγάλματα ἢ βάμματα ἀθνα, and Homer X 441 ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικιλ' ἔπασσε. The main objection to it is the acute accent on αν, which, if αῦ is read, is incorrect unless an enclitic followed; but αῦ τ[ω]να is too weak. W-M condemns αῦ as otiose and considers that an adjective defining the material should precede ποικίλα. The position of the stroke above the line indicates that the scribe wrote πορφύρα, and the spelling of ἀργύρα in the following line was probably similar, though there would be room there for another vowel; cf. Sapph. 44 χερράμακτρα δὲ καγγόνων πορφύρα (?).

10. ἀνάρ[ι]σμα . . . κἀλεφαις: cf. Sapph. 67, identified here by W-M. In Athen. xi. 460 d, where the passage is cited by Athenaeus from the second book of Sappho, the fragment appears as πόλλα δ' ἀνάρισμα ποτήρια καλαίφαις, which has hitherto resisted emendation. πόλλα comes from l. 8. There is however the difficulty that the accus. would be expected rather than the nominative, in continuation of the construction with ἀγοισ' in l. 5. But that is some way off, and the nominative is not unintelligible. There is no possibility of getting in another verb, unless the restoration of l. 9 is quite wrong.

12. φίλοις: the accus. is defensible on the analogy of e.g. Soph. *Phil.* 141 σὲ δ', ὦ τέκνον, τόδ' ἐλήλυθεν, but it seems likely that, as W-M thinks, the word has come in by error from the line above.

14. αἰμίονος was already attested in *Elym. Magn.* 452. 37; cf. 1233. Fr. 2. ii. 13 αἰμιθέων, Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* ii, p. 420.

16. For the single ρ in Περάμοιο cf. e. g. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, V. ii. 13. 2. (2) 14 περεθήκαο. [ἐπήσαν W-M, who suggests as an alternative θυγ[ά]τρεισ[ι] θάκος ἦν.

Fr. 2. This fragment from the bottom of a column is no doubt to be assigned to Col. ii. In l. 1 ἴ]κελοι θεοί[s] seems inevitable; a dative in -σι in agreement with θεοί[s] must then have preceded; cf. e. g. Sappho 11. πάρ[θενοι in l. 5 is the natural antecedent of the γύναικες προγενέστεραι of iii. 3.

iii. 1. The doubtful φ may be any other long letter such as ρ or υ.

2. ὀνεδέχυντο: sc. τὸ πῦρ? The supposed δ is more like λ, but this gives no word. It would be precarious in this uncertain context to emend λιβανοστον to λιβάνωτον.

3-6. 'And the elder women all uttered cries of joy, and all the men raised their voices in a sweet paean, calling on the Far-darter of the tuneful lyre, and sang of Hector and Andromache, peers of the gods.'

3 The reading of the text ἐ]λέυσδ[ο]ν accords better with the other imperfects than the superscribed variant -ξαν.

4. The mark of length above the ι of ἴαχον seems to have been drawn through a diaeresis.

6. ἔμνην as a 3rd person plur. imperf. lacks analogy in Aeolic, but seems a possible form (from ἔμνημι). In Doric the vowel was usually shortened before -ν for σταν, but a long vowel in this position occurs in Crete. At the end of the line either θεοῖκέλο[ις] or θεοῖκέλο[ν] may be restored.

8. The doubtful η might be an ω, but a ν following would be expected to be partially visible. That the number of the book was added is not very likely; and hence the possibility remains that the roll contained a selection from Sappho's works and that a poem in different metre preceded the *Marriage of Andromache*.

### 1233. ALCAEUS.

Fr. 1 9.4 × 17.3 cm.

Second century.  
Plate III (Frs. 1. ii. 2, 8).

The identification of these pieces, apart from other clear indications of their authorship, is guaranteed by the coincidence of Fr. 32. 2-3 with already extant verses of Alcaeus. Like 1231, which belongs to the same find, they are much broken up, and efforts at combination have only been moderately successful. Nevertheless, Frs. 1, 2, and 4, at any rate, provide substantial additions to the remains of the poet. The two columns of Fr. 1 are apparently in the same metre, the Sapphic pentameter of fourteen syllables exemplified in 1232. In Col. ii they are divided off by paragraphi into couplets; cf. Frs. 9-10 and *Berl. Klassikertexte*, V. ii. 12. 1. Col. ii. At l. 8 a new poem begins, addressed to Melanippus, the friend to whom, according to Hdt. v. 95, Alcaeus wrote the poem

describing his flight from a battle with the Athenians; cf. Alc. 32. That poem, however, the opening lines of which, apparently, have been preserved in a corrupt state in Strabo xiii. 600, cannot be identical with the one here, in which Alcaeus admonishes his friend to resign himself to the prospect of death, remembering the fate of Sisyphus. Perhaps, as Wilamowitz suggests, Alc. 93, which refers to Tantalus and seems to be in the same metre, belongs to this context. Fr. 2. Col. ii contains four Sapphic stanzas, admitting of satisfactory restoration, in which a contrast is drawn between Helen and Thetis. The latter is again referred to in the first few lines of Fr. 3, apparently Asclepiads. These are followed by two incomplete Sapphic stanzas describing a resort of maidens at the mouth of some river. Fr. 4 preserves twelve lines from the beginning of a poem in Sapphics addressed to the Dioscuri; cf. Fr. 12. 5-8, also Sapphic, where Aphrodite is invoked. Other metres are exemplified in Frs. 8, 32 (Asclepiads), 11 (cf. 13 and 17), and 22. There is therefore very considerable variety in these fragments, both of form and content. Little is known concerning the arrangement of the works of Alcaeus beyond the fact that they were distributed into at least ten books, with some regard to their subject-matter. Thus Book i contained hymns to the gods (Alc. 1, &c.), and Frs. 4 and 12 might well have been referred to this category, which, however, will clearly not suit, e. g., Frs. 1 and 32. It is a natural assumption that the present fragments are from a single book; but, if so, the principle of the grouping is here not easy to follow.

The papyrus is written in graceful upright uncials of medium size, to be assigned most probably to the second century. The hand is very similar to that of one of the Alcaeus fragments at Berlin (Schubart, *Pap. Gr. Berol.*, Plate 29 b); cf. also 1082, the Cercidas papyrus. *v* sometimes has the shape of *Y*, sometimes, though less commonly, of *V*. As usual, strophic divisions are marked by paragraphi, while a new poem is distinguished by a coronis. Some small corrections in the text have been introduced by a second hand, to which apparently the accents, marks of elision and of long or short quantity, and other signs are also due. In the punctuation, for which both high and medial dots are used, it is more difficult to distinguish, but this too, to some extent at least, is likely to be secondary. In Fr. 4. 4 a short oblique dash is used instead of a dot.

Fr. 1.

Col. i.

. . . . .  
 ]βα[. . .] . [            ]  
 ]σαισκαιμελ[            ]  
 ]τονελισσομ[            ]  
 ]στονμεν . [            ]  
 5    ]άκ[[α]]τιδιμ[. . . .]αι  
       ]ρονειδεσιν  
       ]ισαπυκέκριται  
       ]τοντινεκ . [.]τερω  
       ]αταλάμψεται·  
 10    ]ρπονε[. . .]οτεσ  
       ]υνθεμ[. .]οιλυαισ  
       ]ηματασυλλεγη[  
       ]νου[. .]δοκημ[  
       ]άχξε . [. .]νθίνω  
 15    ] . [ . . . . . ]ν  
                                           ] . αρεσ . [

Col. ii. Plate III.

. . . . .  
 ε . . . [  
 τούαυτ[  
 ουθεν[  
 εγωδα[  
 5    φερηνλ[  
       τογαρα[. . . . .] . [  
       ]θεοισ[. . . . .]ινωσκ[.]θελωσ[  
       ]τιωνε[. . . . .]μελανιππ'άμέμοιτι[  
       οταμε[. . .]διναενταχέρονταμεγ[  
 10    ξάβαι[. .]ελιωικόθαρωνφασ[  
       οψεσθ'αλλάγιμημεγαλωνεπ[  
       καιγαρσεισφουοιολιδαισβασίλευσ[

Fr. 1.

Col. i.

. . . . .  
 ]βα[. . .] . [  
 ]σαις καὶ μελ[  
 ]τον ἔλισσομ[  
 ]στον μὲν . [  
 5 π]άκτιδι μ[. . .]αι  
 ]ον ὀνείδεσιν  
 ]ις ἀπυκέκριται  
 ]τον τιν' ἑκα[σ]τέρω  
 κ]αταλάμψεται·  
 10 ]ρπον ἐ[οίκ]οτες  
 σ]υνθέμ[εν]οι λύαις  
 χρ]ήματα συλλέγη[ν  
 ]νον [δε]δοκημ[εν . .  
 ]άκχε . [ . .]νθίνω  
 15 ] . [ . . . . .]ν  
 ] . αρεσ . [  
 . . . . .

Col. ii. Plate III.

. . . . .  
 ἔ . . [  
 τόαντ[α  
 οὐδέιν[  
 ἔγω δ' ἀ[  
 5 φέρην λ[  
 τὸ γὰρ ἀ[. . . . .] . [  
 θέοισιν . . . . .]ιν ὡς κ[ε] θέλωσ[ι  
  
 Τί ὦν ἐ[. . . . .] Μελάνιππ' ἀμ' ἔμοι; τί [  
 διννάεντ' ὄτα με[. . .] Ἀχέροντα μεγ[  
 10 ζάβαι[ς ἀ]ελίω κόθαρων φάος [ὑστερον  
 ὄψεσθ'; ἀλλ' ἄγι μὴ μεγάλων ἐπ[ιβάλλεο.  
 καὶ γὰρ Σίσυφος Αἰολίδαις βασίλευς [ἔφα

ἀνδρων πλείστα νοσησάμενος[  
 ἀλ[.]ακα[.]πολυιδρισεωνυπακᾶρι[  
 15 [.]νᾶ[.]νταχεροντεπεραισε·μ[  
 [.]ωμ[.]θονεχηγκρονιδᾶισβα[  
 [.]λαινασχθόνος·αλλαγιμητα[  
 [.]ταβασομεναιποτακαλλοταν[  
 [.]ηνοττινατῶνδεπαθηνητα[  
 20 [.]μοσβοριαισεπι[

Fr. 2.

Col. i. Plate III.

	8 or 9 lines lost		}
10	]εσ[.]		]αἰ
	]ν	25	]
	]		]νίραν[
	].]των		]φορευ[
	8 lines lost		]εοῶν[
	]σδα[ ]		]
			. . .

Col. ii. Plate III.

ωσλογοσκάκωνα[  
 περραμωκαιπαῖσ[  
 ε[[ξ]]<sup>κ</sup>σεθενπικρον·πι[  
 > ιλιονίραν·  
 5 ουτὲάνταναιακιδ[  
 παντασεσγαμονμα . [  
 αγετ'εκη[.]ηοσέλων[  
 πάρθενοναβραν  
 εσδομονχέρρωνοσ·ελ[  
 10 ζω . μαπαρθένω[[ι]]φιλο[  
 πήλεοσκαινηρ[[η]]ιδωναρίστ[  
 > εσδενίαυτον  
 παιδαγέννατ'αιμιθεων[  
 ολβιονξάνθανελάτη[



ἄνδρων πλείστα νοησάμενος [θάνατον φύγην·  
 ἀλ[λ]ὰ κα[ὶ] πολυίδρις ἕων ὑπὰ κᾶρι [δὶς  
 15 [διν]νά[ε]ντ' Ἀχέροντ' ἐπέραισε, μ[έ]γας δέ οἱ  
 [κάτ]ω μ[ό]χ[θ]ον ἔχην Κρονίδαις βά[ρυν] ὤρισε  
 [με]λαίνας χθόνος. ἀλλ' ἄγι μὴ τα[  
 [κα]ταβάσομεν αἶ ποτα κάλλοτα ν[  
 [. . .]ην ὅτινα τῶν δὲ πάθην τα[  
 20 [. . . . .] ἀνέ]μος βορίαις ἐπι[

Fr. 2. Col. i. Plate III.

	8 or 9 lines lost	]
10	]εσ[. .]	]α
	]ν	25 ]
	]	]ν ἴραν
	']των	]φορεν[
	8 lines lost	]εοῖν[
	]σδαι[ ]	]

Col. ii. Plate III.

ὡς λόγος κάκων ἀ[νέτηλ' ἀπ' ἔργων  
 Περράμῳ καὶ παιῖσ[ι] τέλος φίλοισιν  
 ἐκ σέθεν πίκρον, π[ύρι] δ' αἰθάλωσας  
 Ἰλιον ἴραν.  
 5 οὐ τ(ο)αύταν Αἰακίδ[αι]ς πόθητον  
 πάντας ἐς γάμον μάκ[αρα]ς καλέσσαις  
 ἄγετ' ἐκ Νή[ρ]ηος ἔλων [με]λάθρων  
 πάρθενον ἄβραν  
 ἐς δόμον Χέρρωνος· ἔλ[υσε] δ' ἄγνα  
 10 ζῶ(μ)μα παρθένω φιλό[τ]ας ἀγαύω  
 Πήλεος καὶ Νηρείδων ἀρίστ[ας],  
 ἐς δ' ἐνίαυτον  
 παῖδα γέννατ' αἰμιθέων [κράτιστον  
 ὄλβιον ξάνθαν ἐλάτη[ρα] πώλων·

15 οἰδαπῶλοντ' ἀμφε[  
 ]καιπολισάντων.  
 ]  
 ]  
 κ[.]ισυνγερανοισινε[  
 ηλθονχλαῖνανεχ . [

20 τᾶ[.] . ρῶτᾶλαιπιῖθει[  
 τ[.]υτῶδεδεμητ[  
 [. . . . .]μηδετ[  
 [. . . . .]λαμέν . [

. . . . .

Fr. 3.

. . . . .

]ο[  
 ] . [

] . . ρ[.] . α[  
 ]νικάκωτ[.]φρ[

5 ]ασδωνεκαληνα[  
 ]αλιαν·αδεγονων[  
 ]τωτέκεοσμᾶνιν[  
 ] . λιοσποταμωνπαρ[  
 ]πορφυριανθαλασσαν[

10 ]ευγομενοσζαλαιαν[  
 ] . [ . . . ]ι·  
 ]πολλαιπαρθениκαιπέ . [

]λωνμηρωναπαλαισιχερ[  
 ]α·θεलगονταιτο . ερωσάλει[

15 ]νυδωρ

Fr. 4.

[ . . . . . ]οπο[.]λίποντε[  
 [ . . . . . ]μοιδ[.]ηδεληθασ  
 [ . . . . . ][[ι]]θυ[.]ω[[ι]]προ[.]μητεκάστορ

15 οἱ δ' ἀπόλωντ' ἀμφ' Ἐ[λένα Φρύγες τε  
καὶ πόλις αὐτῶν.

νῶμέν κ' ἔννεκ' εἶ[  
κ[α]ἰ σὺν γεράνοισιν εἶ[  
ἦλθον χλαῖναν ἔχων  
20 τᾶ . ρωταλίᾳ πίθει[ς  
τ[όα]υτ' ὦδε δὲ μὴ π[  
[. . . . .]ι μηδὲ τ[  
[. . . . .]λα μέν . [  
. . . . .

## Fr. 3.

. . . . .  
]σ[  
] . [  
] . . ρ[.] . α[  
5 αἴω]νι κάκῳ τ[ό]φρ[α  
]άσδων ἐκάλη Νά[ϊ]δα  
] ἀλίαν· ἄ δὲ γόνων [Δίος  
] τῶ τέκεος μᾶνιν [  
  
] . λιος ποτάμων παρ[  
· εἶς] πορφυρίαν θάλασσαν  
10 ἔξερ]ευγόμενος ζαλαίαν  
] . [ . . . ]ι  
] πόλλαι παρθένικαι πέ . [  
]λων μήρων ἀπάλαισι χέρ[σι  
]α θέλγονται τότεν ὡς ἀλεί[φαρ  
15 ]ν ὕδωρ

## Fr. 4.

[Δεῦτ' Ὀλυμπον ἀστέρ]οπο[ν] λίποντε[ς  
[παῖδες ἴφθ]ιμοι Δ[ίος] ἠδὲ Λήδας  
[. . . . . ω] θύ[μ]ω προ[φά]νητε Κάστορ

και πολυδε[.]κεσ'  
 5 οικατέυρηα[. . . . .]καιθαλασσαν  
 παισανερχε[.] . [ . . . ]δωνεπιππων.  
 ρήαδανθρω[. . ]θα[.]ατωλύεσθε  
 ζακρουεντοσ  
 εσδ[.]ωνθρώσκοντ[. . . ]άκραναων  
 10 [.]ηλοθενλάμπροιτο[. . . . ]ντεσ.  
 αργαλεῖαιδεννυκτιφ[. . . . ]ροντεσ[  
 ναϊμ[.]λαιναι.  
 [ . . . . . ]υσ[  
 [ . . . . . ]οσ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 5.

Fr. 6.

<p>           . . . . .            ]ερανδ[            ]ων            ]εμπω[            ] . . . νγε[            5 ]δευκεσ[            ]παρποτ[            ] . τοιμειχν[            ] . ραννοισ [            ]πόιασπ[.]σ[            10 ]α . ποντεσλ[            ]ανελθετε[            ]ντεσ[            . . . . .         </p>	<p>           . . . . .            ]ιδημ[            ] . νιππο[            ]μακαρο[            ]ετανι[            5 ]σασ[            . . . . .            Fr. 7.            . . . . .            ]ηρατα[            ] . έμει            ]λαποσ            ]ρωσατε[            . . . . .         </p>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Fr. 8. Plate III.

. . . . .  
 ]ρφασι[  
 ]εματατουτα . . [

καὶ Πολύδε[υ]κες,  
 5 οἱ κατ' εὐρη[ν χθόνα] καὶ θάλασσαν  
 παῖσαν ἔρχε[σθ'] ὠ[κυπό]δων ἐπ' ἵππων,  
 ῥῆα δ' ἀνθρώ[ποις] θα[ν]άτω ῥύεσθε  
 ζακρυόεντος  
 εὐέδ[ρ]ων θρώσκοντ[ες ὄν] ἄκρα νάων,  
 10 [τ]ήλοθεν λάμπροι προτο[. . . .]ντες,  
 ἀργαλέα δ' ἐν νύκτι φ[άος φέ]ροντες  
 νᾶϊ μ[ε]λαίνα.  
 [. . . . .]νσ[  
 [. . . . .]οσ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 5.

Fr. 6.

. . . . .	. . . . .
]ερανδ[	]ιδημ[
]ων	] . ν ἵππο[
π]έμπω[	] μάκαρο[ς
] . . . ν γε[	]ετανι[
5 ]δευκες [	5 ]σασ[
] παρποτ[	. . . . .
] . τοι μειχν[	
τ]υράννοις	Fr. 7.
]ποίας π[.]ο[	. . . . .
10 ]α . ποντες λ[	]ηρατα[
]αν ἔλθετε [	] . έμει
]ντες [	λαί]λαπος
. . . . .	]ρωσατε[
	. . . . .

Fr. 8. Plate III.

. . . . .  
 πα]ρφασι[  
 ]έμματα τοῦτ' ἀ . . [

]ευτεμεγῆραστε[  
 ]τολάθε[. .]αιχ[.]θ[  
 5 ]δωναπαλωνσυμν[  
 ]ταιπολιᾶτανόλιγονσφ[  
 ]τογαρεμμομενο<sup>ρ</sup>νορ[  
 ]αισανδρεσιτοιηγεινο[  
 ]ασόφοσῆκαιφρεσιπυκνα[  
 10 ]σπᾶραμοιρανδιοσουδετριχ[  
 ]όντεσασαισμε . [  
 ] . φέρ[.]σθ . [.]βᾶθυ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 9.

αγ[  
 άκ[  
 θ . [  
 ε[  
 5 μ[.]ρ[  
 μάτ . [  
 νυμφ[  
 ]ικέτευ[  
 ]ε . . . εκ[  
 . . .

Fr. 10.

. . .  
 ]κοσ[  
 ]δευρ[  
 ]αβα[[ι]]σ[  
 ]εξανω[  
 5 ]πλεην[  
 ]αιδεκε[

Fr. 11.

. . . . .  
 ] . . [  
 ]γα[  
 ]  
 ]αι·  
 5 ]α . φμαν  
 ]ανθαλασσαν  
 ]ιω[[ν]]φερεσθαι·  
 ]κῶνφεροιτο  
 ]ακαταγρει  
 10 ]βαβυλωνοσίρασ  
 ]μασκάλωνα  
 ]υοεντεγερρη·  
 ]νκατακρασ·  
 ]τεκάσλον  
 15 ]σαιδαοδωμα  
 ]λωνόησθαι  
 ]εφανώματ'άμμι  
 ]ταυτ[[λ]]απαντα  
 ]ο . [.]αὔτοι

] εὐτέ με γῆρας τε[  
 ] τὸ λάθε[σθ]αι χ[.]ρ[  
 5 ]δων ἀπάλων σ' ὕμν[  
 ]ται πολιάταν ὀλιγον σφ[  
 ] τὸ γὰρ ἐμμόρμενον ὄρ[  
 ]αῖς ἀνδρεσι τοῖς γεινο[μένοι]σιν  
 [καὶ πάντ]α σόφος ἦ καὶ φρέσι πύκνα[ισι  
 10 ]ς παρὰ μοῖραν Δίος οὐδὲ τριχ[  
 ]όντες ἄσαις με . [  
 ] φέρ[ε]σθα[ι] βαθυ[

. . . . .

Fr. 9.

ἀγ[  
 ἄκ[  
 θ . [  
 ἐ[  
 5 μ[.]ρ[  
 μάτ . [  
 νυμφ[  
 ἰκέτευ[  
 'E . . . εκ[  
 . . .

Fr. 10.

. . .  
 κοσ[  
 Δεῦρ[ο  
 ἄβας [  
 ἐξ αὖω [  
 5 πλέην [  
 αὶ δὲ κε[

Fr. 11.

. . . . .  
 ] . . [  
 ]να[  
 ]  
 ]αι.  
 5 ]α . ωμαν  
 ]αν θάλασσαν  
 ]ιω φέρεσθαι,  
 ]κῶν φέροιτο  
 ]α κατάγρει  
 10 ] Βαβύλωνος ἴρας  
 ]ν Ἀσκάλωνα  
 κρ]υόεντ' ἐγέρρην,  
 ]ν κατ' ἄκρας,  
 ] τε κάσλον  
 15 εἶ]ς Αἶδαο δῶμα  
 ]λω νόησθαι  
 στ]εφανώματ' ἄμμι  
 ] ταῦτα πάντα  
 ]ο . [.] αὔτοι





εἰς ἴραν [ 20 ] . δειν  
 καῦω χ[ . . . . .  
 μενω[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 12.

. . . . .  
 ]αις  
 ]α δὲ θυμ[  
 ] κίθαρις δ[  
 ]  
 5 τέ]μενος λάχουισ[α  
 ὄν κ]ορύφαν πόλῃος  
 ]ν Ἀφρόδιτα  
 ]  
 ]ν γυν[αικ

## Fr. 13.

. . . . .  
 ]δα . [ .  
 ]ντο λῶπο[ς  
 ]έτι γυῖα φ[  
 ] τὸ λαῖφος [ .  
 5 ]νδίδη[ς  
 ]όμενος δ[  
 ]πωμον . [ .  
 ]ι· τὰ δ' ἀλ[  
 ]π[ .  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 14.

κἄννομον [ .  
 ἐν μελάθρο[ισιν  
 ποικίλαις κ[  
 [ . ]νοτεφα[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 15.

. . . . .  
 ]ν[ . ]ρ[ . ]ο[  
 ]τες ἄβρω[  
 ]αντος ἀ[  
 ]  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 16.

. . . . .  
 ]εκαλυπ[τ  
 ]πον ἀμ . [ .  
 ]ε γηράεσ-  
 ]τ' ἀμφαφ[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 17.

. . . . .  
 ] ἤδη [ .  
 ]οσδε  
 ] ἔγεργε  
 ]αταῦτο  
 5 ]ς  
 ] .  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 18.

. . . . .  
 ]βρ[  
 ] . ξί[  
 ]ερα κ[  
 ]λιππ[  
 5 ]καίισ[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 19.

. . . . .  
 ]  
 ]  
 ] . ἀλιος  
 ]άνω[  
 ] .  
 . . . . .

Fr. 20.	Fr. 21.	Fr. 22.	
. . .	. . .	. . .	
]ρτατο[	]αι	]τρω	
]γοιν[	]ασσα[	] . μι	
]ηνλα[	]ται	]πδλιάτᾶν	
]ισ . [	]ωσ	]ιος	
. . .	. . .	. . .	
Fr. 23.	Fr. 24.	Fr. 25.	
. . .	. . . .	. . .	
]ναγν[	]ταῖσμ[	]σσι[	
]	]μ[[ε]]ίκρο[	]εμ[	
]ννα[	]λε[	]στ[	
. . .	. . . .	. . .	
Fr. 26.	Fr. 27.	Fr. 28.	Fr. 29.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
]μασδ[	] . [	]ατια[	]θα
]φύ[	] . υμ[	. . .	]ου
. . .	. . .		. . .
Fr. 30.		Fr. 31.	
. . .		. . .	
]πρ[		]νέ[	
[ ]		]ελίσ[	
]ανεχ[		]ειον[	
]ανίμο[		]γάσθ[	
5 ]ανδρατ[		5 ]μαιρ[	
]ασαιπο[		. . .	
]φ[			
. . .			
	Fr. 32.		
	. . . . .		
	[. .]ρ[. .]πιοιτο . . [		
	]καττασπολλαπ[		

Fr. 20.	Fr. 21.	Fr. 22.	
. . .	. . .	. . .	
]ροτατο[	]αι	]τρω	
]νοι[	]ασσα[	] . μι	
]ην λα[	]ται	] πολιάταν	
]ισ . [	]ως	]ιος	
. . .	. . .	. . .	
Fr. 23.	Fr. 24.	Fr. 25.	
. . .	. . .	. . .	
]ν άγν[	]ταις μ[	]σσι[	
]	σ]μίκρο[	]εμ[	
]ννα[	]λε[	]στ[	
. . .	. . .	. . .	
Fr. 26.	Fr. 27.	Fr. 28.	Fr. 29.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
]μασδ[	] . [	]ατια[	]θα
]φύ[	] . υμ[	. . .	]ου
. . .	. . .		. . .
Fr. 30.		Fr. 31.	
. . .		. . .	
]πρ[		]νε[	
[ ]		]ελίσ[	
]ανεχ[		]ειον[	
]ανίμο[		]γάσθ[	
5 ] άνδρα τ[		5 ]ναιρ[	
]ασαι πο[		. . .	
]φ[			
. . .			
	Fr. 32.		
. . .	. . .	. . .	
[. .]ρ[ . .]πιοιτο . . [			

Κὰτ τὰς πόλλα π[αθοίσας κεφάλας χεῦον ἔμοι μύρον

)καικαττωπολ[  
   πώνόντων·κακα[  
 5 εδοσαν·πεδαδάλλω[  
   [.]νθ[.]ωπωνοδεμηφ[  
   [.]ην[.]·[.]φαιῖσθ'απολ[  
   . . . . .

Fr. 33.  
 . . . . .  
   ]  
   ]αμμ[  
   ]δᾶλα[  
   ]ομενα[  
   ]  
 5 ]σπαλαμ[  
   ]όπποσεκ[  
   ]σεπόλω[  
   . . . . .

Fr. 34.  
 . .  
   α[  
   φ[  
   . .

Fr. 1. i. With the exception of the two final letters of l. 5 this column is contained on a detached fragment, but its position is rendered almost certain by the correspondence of the fibres of the papyrus.

3. Either *ἐλίσσομεν* or *-μ[αι* or *-όμ[αν* is possible.

14. The letters after *ακχ* have been corrected and what was intended is uncertain; perhaps *η* was originally written.

ii. 8-17. ' . . . How can you suppose that, when you have crossed Acheron's whirling stream, you will thereafter see the pure light of the sun? Come, seek not after high things. For king Sisyphus son of Aeolus, most cunning of men, thought to escape death; yet for all his wit he was stricken by fate and twice passed over the whirling stream of Acheron, and the mighty son of Cronus set for him a heavy task below the black earth.'

8-9. A new poem begins at l. 8; the first letters may be divided in various ways, of which *τί δν ε[* is perhaps the best, though *δν* for *οδν* lacks authority in Aeolic. For Melanippus cf. introd. p. 50. In l. 9 there is some error, as the metre shows; the defect may be cured by the transposition of *διννάεντ'*, but the apparent recurrence of this epithet in l. 15 is somewhat suspicious, and there may be a deeper corruption. The general sense, however, is evident. At the end of l. 9 the doubtful *γ* may be *η*, hardly *π*.

10-16. The restoration is for the most part due to W-M.

10. The iota adscript in *αελιωι* must be erroneous; cf. Fr. 2. ii. 10 and Fr. 4. 3, where iotas have been deleted. The Doric form *κόθαραν* is here first attested for the Lesbian dialect; cf. *στρότος*, *ῥν*, &c.

καὶ κατ τῶ πολ[ίω στήθεος  
 πωνόντων· κάκα [  
 5 ἔδοσαν· πεδὰ δ' ἄλλω[ν  
 [ἀ]νθ[ρ]ώπων, ὁ δὲ μὴ φ[  
 [.]ην[.]·] φαῖσθ' ἀπολ[

Fr. 33.

. . . .  
 ]  
 ]αμμ[  
 ] δᾶλα[  
 ]ομενα[  
 ]  
 5 ]ς παλαμ[  
 ] ὄπποσε κ[  
 ]σε πόλω[  
 . . . .

Fr. 34.

. .  
 α[  
 φ[  
 . .

11. ἄγι = ἄγε: cf. 1232. Fr. 1. i. 8, note.

12. Αἰολίδαις: so 16 Κρονίδαις, 20 Βορίαις.

14. [δῖς: cf. e. g. Theognis 702 sqq. Σισύφου Αἰολίδαο ὅς τε καὶ ἐξ Ἀΐδεω πολυνδρέεισιν ἀνῆλθεν κτλ., Schol. Pind. *Ol.* i. 97, Eustath. 1701. 50.

18. [κα]ταβάσομεν may be regarded as analogous to ἀείσω in Sapph. 11; a fem. participle [κα]ταβασόμεναι is unlikely in this context. At the end of the line γ or π could be read instead of ν.

Fr. 2. i. 22-8. These remains are on a detached fragment which is conjecturally placed here on the strength of a junction between two selides. In l. 24 the mark of length on α is doubtful.

ii. 1-16. 'Through thee, it is said, there sprang from evil deeds a bitter end for Priam and his sons, and thou didst consume with fire sacred Ilium. Unlike to thee was the fair maiden whom the son of Aeacus, inviting all the blessed ones to the marriage of his desire, took from the halls of Nereus and led home to the house of Chiron. And the chaste love of noble Peleus and the goodliest of the daughters of Nereus loosed her maiden girdle, and in the space of a year she bore a son, mightiest of demigods, happy driver of chestnut steeds; but the Phrygians perished for Helen, they and their city.'

1 sqq. Of these verses, of which the general sense is evident, some, e. g. ll. 6-7, 14-15, can be completed with practical certainty; of the others a restoration *exempli gratia* has been made by W-M.

3. σέθεν: sc. Helen. Cf. Horace, *Odes* iii. 3. 20 *et mulier peregrina vertit in pulverem*.

4. For the diplê in the margin here and at l. 12 cf. e. g. 659. 17, 841. IV. 35, &c., and, in prose texts, 1241. v. 5, &c., 1248. 115.

5. For the spelling *τεαύταν* cf. 1231. Fr. 14. 4, note.

9-10. In the restoration adopted it is assumed that a dot above the *ι* of *παρθενωι* was a mark of deletion supplementing the stroke through the letter. But this dot might also be regarded as a stop, which would require some such supplements as *ἔλ[υσε δ' αὐτει . . . φιλό[τας δ' ἐκράνθη (?)*. In any case the nom. *φιλό[τας* is demanded by the following genitives. There is not room for *ζωμμα* and perhaps *ζωσμα* was written.

13. *γ* of *γεννατ* seems to have been altered from *φ*. For *αἰμιθέων* cf. 1232. Fr. 1. ii. 14, note

17. The paragraph below this line and the apparent unsuitableness of the words as the opening of a poem suggest that there is some dislocation here. It would be easy to suppose that the verse is out of its true position, having perhaps come in from the margin of an earlier copy; but this is an insufficient remedy, since l. 18 also makes an unsatisfactory commencement of a new poem.

18. A disyllable would be rather expected before *σύν*, but the *κ* is quite certain and there can be little doubt that *κ[α]ί* was the first word; the metre of l. 20 may be the same. At the end of the line above the doubtful *ε* there is a vestige which would suit a grave accent, but is too small to be clearly identified.

20. *ρωταλία* is perhaps a proper name. *ρ*, the top of which has been rewritten by the corrector, is preceded by part of a vertical stroke which would well suit *π*. The curved stroke below the line shows that the letters are to be combined in a single word; cf. e. g. 852. Fr. 1. ii. 22, 1082. Fr. 1. ii. 18. For *πίθει[ς]* cf. the Homeric forms *πιθήσω*, *πιθήσας*. The *π* has been converted from a *σ*.

21. *τ[όα]υτ' ὦδε* seems a more likely division than *τ[. ]υ τῶδε*.

Fr. 3. 4-7. The supplements suggested by W-M proceed on the supposition that the reference is to Thetis, who appeals to Zeus to vindicate Achilles. In l. 4 *ερ* might be read instead of *φ*.

8. A new poem is marked by the change of both metre and subject. The first stanza describes a river flowing out to the sea, the second the maidens who resorted thither.

10. The last five letters have been written over something else which has been washed out. *ζαλαιαν* may be regarded as another form of *ζάλην* or as an adjective derived from that substantive.

12. Perhaps [*ἔνθα*] *πόλλαι*. At the end of the line *πε* is followed by the tip of a vertical stroke which would be consistent with *γ*, *κ*, *π*, *ν*, *ρ*. *πέκ[ονται]* would not be out of place, and the sentence might continue [*κάπ[α]λων μήρων . . . [ἤπιον] ὕδωρ [κακχέοισαι]*, though this would not account for the apparent stop in l. 14, which rather implies a preceding participle, or else *θέλγονται τ'*.

14. *ἄλει[φαρ]* W-M. *τόθεν* is very doubtful, but the remains suit *ο* and *ε* better than anything else. *τέρειν* is inadmissible and *τ' ἀγάνως* would be unsatisfactory.

Fr. 4. 1-12. 'Come, mighty sons of Zeus and Leda, leave flashing Olympus and appear . . ., O Castor and Polydeuces, ye who come over the broad earth and all the sea on your swift steeds, and lightly save men from chill death, leaping on the tops of the well-benched ships, shining afar . . . and bringing light to the black ship in the stress of night.'

1. This line, of which the opening words were restored by W-M, was no doubt the first of the poem. For *ἀστέρ[ο]πι[ν]* he refers to Arcadius, p. 67.

2. W-M prefers *ἴφθ[ι]μοι* to *ὑβρ[ι]μοι* or *ἄλκ[ι]μοι*.

3. The genitive has been substituted for the dative by the deletion of the iota adscript, as in Fr. 2. ii. 10. W-M suggests [ἰλλάω]ι (cf. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, V. ii. 12. 2. 19 ἰλλάεντι θύμῳ), which however hardly fills the lacuna, besides leaving the correction unexplained.

5 sqq. For the Dioscuri as preservers from peril by sea cf. e.g. the Homeric *Hymn* xxxiii. 6 sqq., Eurip. *Helen*. 1495 sqq., Lucian, *Deorum Dial.* 26. 2 καθιπεύειν δὲ τὸ πέλαιος καὶ εἴαν πον ναύτας χειμαζομένους ἰδῶσιν, ἐπικαθίσαντας ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον σώζειν τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας. Lines 9-12 might even be supposed to contain a reference, unparalleled at this early period, to the phenomenon known as St. Elmo's fire. Cf. the fragment of a romance in *Hermathena*, xi, pp. 322 sqq., ll. 55-7 πολλὰ[κις δὲ κα]ὶ τῆς κεραίας ἐβάλλον[το] πυρσοὶ βραχεῖς [μέρος] ἐς ἐκότερον, εἴτ' ἄσ[τρ], ὡς] ἔφασκον οἱ ναῦται Διοσκόρων προσωνυμίαν [λέγ]οντες, εἴτ' κτλ., Lucian, *Ναυγ.* 9 λαμπρὸν ἀστέρη Διοσκόρων τὸν ἔτερον ἐπικαθίσαι τῷ καρρησίῳ, *Charidem* 3 ἐπ' ἀκροῖς ἰστίοις ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις κινδύνους φανέντων, Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 101 *stellae* . . . *antennis navigantium aliisque navium partibus* . . . *insistunt ut volucres sedem ex sede mutantes, graves, cum solitariae venere*, . . . *geminæ autem salutaris et prosperi cursus praenuntiae* . . . *et ob id Polluci et Castori id numen adsignant, eosque in mari deos invocant.* κεραία, καρρησίον, &c., in these passages rather suggest some form of πρόνοι in l. 10, e.g. προτό[νων ἐπέ]ντες, the original omission of προ- being due to the preceding -προι. But the uncertainty as to the nature of the insertion makes any restoration very doubtful.

7. The corrector's variant βύεσθε is perhaps preferable to λύεσθε.

**FRS. 5-7.** These three fragments are placed here on account of a similarity in the condition of the papyrus to Fr. 4. But the metre shows that Frs. 5 and 7, at any rate, come from a different poem, even if they belong to the same column.

**Fr. 5.** 7. The doubtful ν could be λ or μ.

11. The θ has a slightly inclined stroke through it, the scribe apparently having begun to write some other letter.

**Fr. 6.** 2. Not Μελ]άνιππο[.

4. The supposed acute accent may well be a circumflex on a letter further away (ν[ι. ̄].)

**Fr. 8.** Fragment of a poem in greater Asclepiads; cf. Alc. 37, 39, &c., and Hephaest. 60 τὸ δὲ ἀκατάληκτον καλεῖται Σαφφικὸν ἐκκαυδεκασύλλαβον, ᾧ τὸ τρίτον ὄλον Σαφφῶς γέγραπται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ Ἀλκαίου ᾄσματα.

7. ἐμμόρμενον = εἰμαρμένον. The second ε has been corrected by the second hand from ο.

9. [καὶ πάντ]α W-M.

10. 'Not a hair is lost but by the will of Zeus' must be the sense, a remarkable early parallel to Matt. x. 30.

11. [ἐνεγκ]όντες, which W-M suggests, would not fill the lacuna if [καὶ πάντ]α is right in l. 9.

**Fr. 9.** This fragment from the top of a column can hardly belong to the same column as Fr. 1. ii, owing to the different texture of the papyrus. Line 7 might be Alc. 85.

**Fr. 10.** Two dark fibres on the verso prove that this fragment is not from the same column as either Fr. 1. ii or Fr. 9. Lines 2-9 form a single short poem.

4. ἐξ αὐῶ : or perhaps ἐξαύῳ; cf. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, V. ii. 12. 2. 8, where the compound ἕξανος apparently occurs.

**Fr. 11.** 10. There may be a reference here to Alcaeus' brother Antimenidas, who when exiled from Mitylene went to Babylonia; cf. Alc. 33. A low dot after the σ of βαβυλωνιοσ is probably unintentional.

12. πόλεμον or some similar word is probably to be supplied before κρ]ύβεντα; cf. e. g. Hesiod, *Th.* 936 ἐν πολέμῳ κρυβέντι. If the metre is the same as e. g. Sapph. 76-8, πόλεμον ζακ]ρυδέειτ', as W-M suggests, might well be restored.

Fr. 12. A fragment in Sapphic metre. Lines 5-8 are evidently an invocation to Aphrodite, and possibly a new poem begins here; τέ]μενος and ὄν] (or κάκ) W-M. In l. 7 χρυσοστέφα]ν' Ἀφροδίτα might be restored, as in Sapph. 9.

Fr. 13. The metre is perhaps that of Fr. 11, but the colour of the papyrus is different. In l. 5 W-M supposes ]υνδίδη[ς to be a proper name formed like Πενθίληος (1234. Fr. 6. 10), Τυρράδης (Alc. 94).

Frs. 14-15 are apparently in Sapphics. The former is from the top of a column; στεφα]ν cannot be read in l. 4.

Fr. 16. 3. W-M suggests γηράεσσα from a form γηράεις, not otherwise found. Cf. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, V. ii. 12. 2. 19, where ἰλλάεντι = ἰλαρῶ.

Fr. 17 does not join on either to Fr. 11 or Fr. 13.

Fr. 18. 5. The last letter is probably σ, not ε.

Fr. 20. 2. Spots of ink above οἰ may represent a circumflex accent, which would point to οἰ]ος.

Fr. 23. This fragment might well belong to the same column as Fr. 12.

Fr. 24. 2. A thin diagonal stroke through the ε was probably intended to delete that superfluous letter.

Fr. 29. That this scrap belongs to 1233 is not certain.

Frs. 30-4. These fragments were found separately from the rest, Frs. 30-1 on different occasions, Frs. 32-4, which are rather darker in colour than the other pieces, together.

Fr. 32. 2-3 = Alc. 42. The tail of a coronis opposite l. 3 indicates that these verses were the beginning of a new poem.

4. πωνόντων: cf. Alc. 20 πώνην, 52 πώνης.

7. Perhaps [κ]ήν[ον], as W-M suggests.

Fr. 33. The metre is again Sapphic.

Fr. 34. This fragment is hardly to be combined with Fr. 33. 6-7.

#### 1234. ALCAEUS.

Fr. 2 14.3 × 27.3 cm. Second century. Plate IV  
(Fr. 2).

The following fragments are written in a fine upright script which may be assigned with much probability to the latter half of the second century. It is a specimen of the oval type of uncials, much resembling 665 (Part IV, Plate 1); cf. also 7 (Part I, Plate 2), which, though the letters are more sloping, is in very



similar style. The date suggested is further supported by the cursive marginalia, which are perhaps more likely to fall within the second century than the third; the hand in which these are written is much like that of the annotator in 841, the *Paeans* of Pindar. Whether the author of the scholia was also the *diorthotes* who has occasionally corrected the text is not clear, neither is the responsibility for the accents and other lectional aids, which seem at any rate in part to be subsequent additions; they are of the same character as in 1231-3, but include an example of the *diastole* in Fr. 2. i. 6.

The bottoms of six columns are preserved, the order of which is not definitely fixed except in the case of the two columns of Fr. 2; but it seems probable that the columns were consecutive, and the arrangement adopted is suggested by the appearance of the papyrus, which deteriorates in condition as the later columns are reached. The relative position of Frs. 4 and 6 is quite uncertain. That the author is Alcaeus is at once evident from the style and the personal allusions, and is implied by the scholium on Fr. 2. i. 14-15, in which the name of the poet is expressly mentioned. In subject these fragments are much more homogeneous than 1233, having for the most part an obvious political bearing, and so coming into the category of *Στασιωτικά*. Fr. 1 contains remains of four Sapphic stanzas, describing some opponent as a 'shameless one' and a 'cunning fox' who 'hoped to escape detection', and referring to an understanding with the Lydians, who had offered a sum of 2,000 staters to assist the party of Alcaeus to 'enter the sacred city'. Whether the 'cunning fox' is Pittacus is not evident; he, however, is certainly the subject of the poem of which the conclusion is preserved in the first column of Fr. 2. This was written during the ascendancy of Pittacus, no doubt during the exile of the poet, who hopes that the fortunes of war may yet be reversed and peace thereby restored to the state. Allusion is made to the aristocratic marriage of Pittacus and to discreditable relations with the tyrant Myrsilus. The piece is written in stanzas of four verses of which the second and fourth are regular lesser Asclepiads (cf. Alc. 33), while in the first and third the first choriambus is replaced by  $\cup - \cup \sphericalangle$ , a variation described by Hephaestion, p. 34, under the name of  $\text{'}\text{Αλκ}\{\mu\}\text{αἶκόν} \delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\nu$  and illustrated by Alc. 62; in the three remaining instances of the third verse  $\cup - - \cup$  only appears, but that may well be accidental. This is followed by the two opening lines of an Alcaic poem addressed, according to the marginal note, to a favourite of Alcaeus; it is the only one represented in the papyrus where a more or less direct political reference is not apparent, but of course something of the sort may easily have been developed in the sequel. At any rate personal antipathies are prominent again in the next column, which is in the same metre and dwells, in rather obscure terms, upon the ignoble birth of a man who had

risen to high station. Probably the person meant is Pittacus, whose Thracian origin (Suidas s. v., Diog. Laert. i. 74) would lend itself to a diatribe of this kind. Fr. 3, again in Alcaics, is closely similar to extant fragments of Alcaeus (18-19) in which the imagery of a ship in stress on a stormy sea is applied to civil discord. The poet's concluding invitation to a friend to drown care in the wine-cup is analogous to Alc. 35, and illustrates afresh his tendency to combine festivities

## Fr. 1.

. . . . .  
 [. . . . .] . [. . .] ε[. .] . . . [  
 [. . . . .] τάρει  
 [. . . . .] ἄβολονπάτεραπ[  
 [. . . . .] νκῆνωπατερα[  
 5 [. . . . .] ὠνάισχυντοσῆπ[  
 [. . . . .] ιτρον·  
 [. . . . .] ατερ·λύδοιμενεπα[  
 [. . . . .] ραισιδισχελίοισστα[  
 [. . .] μ[. .] ὠκανάικεδυνάιμεθ' ἴρ[  
 10 [. . .] ὀλ[.] νελθην·  
 οὐπά[.] οντεσουδάμαπῶσλονου[  
 οὐδε[.] εινῶσκοντεσ·οδ' ὠσαλώπᾶ[  
 ποικ[.] λόφρωνευμάρεαπρολέξᾶ[  
 ἦλπ[.] τολλάσην

## Fr. 2, margin.

. . . . .  
 ] αἰ  
 ] . ν . . .  
 ] του[.] . ιου  
 ] λλ .  
 ] . γυπο  
 ] αἰ  
 ] ὠρσθαισ  
 ] ὀπουμοί  
 ]  
 ] . [ . . ]  
 ]  
 ] τῆ  
 ] .

## Fr. 2. Col. i. Plate IV.

. . . . .  
 [. . . . .] . . . χ . . μ[  
 . . [.] τωιτ·ο·δ' ἔιπηνοδῶρ . [  
 αει . ειπεδεχωνσυμποσιων[  
 βασμοσ·φιλώνωνπεδᾶλεμ[  
 5 ενωχήμενοσάντοισινεπα[  
 κῆνοσδε, γᾶῶθεισ ατρεῖδα[  
 δαπτέτωπόλινωσκαιπεδαμυρσ[. .] ω[  
 θᾶσκάμμεβόλλητ' ἄρευσεπιτεύχε . . [.]

. . . . .  
 ] α[  
 ] . [.] αρ[  
 ] επιγαμιασχω . . . ῥ  
 ] αρεωσαπογονοιδρ[. . .] . .  
 ] ὠσκήπρωνηγῆτο[. . .] σῆλ

with politics, and the close connexion of the Stasiotica and the Scolia. Frs. 4-6, which like the two preceding columns are in Alcaic stanzas, are in an inferior state of preservation, though enough remains to show that they too had a controversial and political character. A tantalizing allusion to an event which happened in the poet's childhood occurs in Fr. 6. 7-8.

## Fr. 1.

. . . . .  
 [. . . . .] . [. . .] ε[. . .] . . . [  
 [. . . . .] τάρει  
 [. . . ἐκ] ἀβολον, πάτερ, ἀπ[  
 [. . . . .] ν κήνω, πάτερ, ἀ[  
 5 [. . . . .] ὠναίσχυντος ἐπ[  
 [. . . . .] ἄλ]ιτρον.  
 [Ζεῦ πάτερ, Δύδοι μὲν ἐπα[  
 [. . .] . [. . .] ραῖσι δισχελίοις στά[τηρας  
 [. . .] μ' [ἔδ]ωκαν, αἶ κε δυναίμεθ' ἴρ[αν  
 10 [ἔς π]όλ[ι]ν ἔλθην,  
 οὐ πά[θ]οντες οὐδαμα πω 'σλον οὐ[δὲν  
 οὐδὲ [γ]ινώσκοντες· ὁ δ' ὡς ἀλώπα[ξ  
 ποικ[ι]λόφρων εὐμάρεα προλέξα[ις  
 ἤλπ[ε]το λάσση

## Fr. 2, margin.

. . . . .  
 ]αι  
 ] . ν . . .  
 ], τοῦ [. . .] . ιου  
 ]λλ .  
 ] . ν ὑπό  
 ]αι  
 ] ὠρσθαισ  
 σκ] οσοῦμ(εν) ci  
 ]  
 ] . [. . .]  
 ]  
 ] τε  
 ] .

## Fr. 2. Col. i. Plate IV.

. . . . .  
 [. . . . .] . . . χ . . . μ[  
 . . . [.] τφ τάδ' εἶπην, ὁ δ' ὦρ . [υ υ - υ -  
 . . . ] . [. . .] α[  
 . . . ] . [. . .] αφ[  
 . . . ] . [. . .] αφ[  
 . . . ] . [. . .] αφ[  
 5 εὐωχήμενος αὐτοισιν ἐπα[υ -  
 κήνος δὲ γαώθεισ Ἀτρεΐδα[ν γάμφ ] ἐπιγαμίαν σχῶν . . . ν( )  
 δαπτέτω πόλιν ὡς καὶ πεδὰ Μυρσ[ί]λω, ] Ἀ(τ)ρέως ἀπόγονοι δρ[. . .] . . .  
 ἄς κ' ἄμμε βόλλητ' Ἄρευσ ἐπιτεύχεας ] ὡς κ(αὶ) πρώην μ(ετὰ) το[ῦ Μυρ]σίλ(ου).

- τρόπην·εκεδέχολωτῶδελαθόμεθ<sup>αν</sup>·  
 10 χαλάσσομενδετᾶσθῦμοβόρωδυνασ  
 ε[[<sup>μ</sup>ν]]φύλωτεμάχασ·τάντισολυμπιων  
 ἐνωρσεδαμονμενεισανάταναγων  
 13  $\frac{1}{\Theta}$  φιττάκωδεδιδοισκῦδοσεπήρ[. .]ο[ ]  
 15  $\frac{a}{\Gamma}$  [[καιχοροινουτωτουτονομισδετα[.]] [. . . . .]τατοντουαλκαιουερωμόν  
 14 φιλοσμενησθακᾶπεριφονκαλην φ . . . [. . . . .]ονωσσεεκαιεπιχορι  
 15 καιχοιρον·ουτωτουτονομισδετα τ . γκ[. . . . .] / εισταπαρασκευασ  
 ματ[. . . . .]οισγξνοισιμετα  
 σπου[. . . . .]φχιανποροιμιαδ'  
 επειφ . [. . . . .]γλεγειουτωτουτονοτ

## Col. ii. Plate IV.

- . . . . . Fr. 3, margin.  
 [. . .] . λα[  
 [. .]βρωσδεσυνστει[. . . . .]ειπα . [  
 πίμπλεισινακράτ . [. . .]πᾶμέρᾱ[  
 καινύκτιπλαφλ[.] . [. . .] . αχθεν ]τηνεφη  
 5 ἐνθάνομοσθαμεωσ[. .]ννην· ]κοσσυν  
 κηνοσδετουτωνουκελάθετο ]υεθουσ  
 ωνηρεπειδηπρῶτονονέτροπε· ] . τασπο  
 παισαισγαροννώρηνένκτασ· ]ηγορριδ'  
 τῶδεπίθωπατάγεσκ'οπύθμην·  
 10 σῶδητεάντᾱσεκγεγόνωνέχης  
 τανδόξανόιανάνδρεσελευθεροι  
 εσλωνέοντεσεκτο[[<sup>κ</sup>ν]]ηων

## Fr. 3.

- . . . . .  
 πανφορτι[.]νδ[  
 δ'ότιμαλιστασάο . [  
 καικύματιπλάγεισ[  
 όμβρωμάχεσθαιχ . [  
 5 φαίσ'ουδενιμέρρη[  
 δ'έρματιτυπτομ[

τρόπην, ἐκ δὲ χόλω τῶδε λαθοίμεθ' ἄν,  
 10 χαλάσσομεν δὲ τᾶς θυμοβόρω δύας  
 ἐμφύλω τε μάχας τάν τις Ὀλυμπίων  
 ἔνωρσε δᾶμον μὲν εἰς ἀνάταν ἄγων  
 Φιττάκῳ δὲ δίδοις κῦδος ἐπήρ[ατ]ον.

Φίλος μὲν ἦσθα κάπ' ἔριφον κάλλην  
 15 καὶ χοῖρον· οὐτῷ τοῦτο νομίσδετα

[. . . . .]τα τὸν τοῦ Ἀλκαίου ἐρώμ(εν)ον  
 φ. . . [. . . . .]ον ὥστε σε καὶ ἐπὶ χοῖ(ρον)  
 τ. ν κ[. . . . .]( ) εἰς τὰ παρασκευάσ-  
 ματ[α . . . τ]οῖς γ(άρ) ξένους μετὰ  
 σπου[δ(ῆς) . . . εὐ]ωχίαν. παροιμία δ(ἐ)  
 ἐπεὶ φ. [. . . . .]ν λέγει, οὐτῷ τοῦτο νομ(ίσδετα).

## Col. ii. Plate IV.

. . . . .  
 [. . .] . λα[  
 [λά]βρωσ δὲ συνστει[. . . . .]ειαπα . [  
 πίμπλεισιν ἀκράτ[ισμον ἐ]π' ἀμέρα,  
 καὶ νύκτι πλάφλ[α]σ[μοι σύ]ναχθεν  
 5 ἔνθα νόμος θαμέως [. .]ννην.  
 κῆνος δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἐπελάθετο  
 ὄνηρ ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ὀνέτροπε,  
 παίσαις γὰρ ὀνώρινε νύκτας,  
 τῶ δὲ πίθω πατάγεσκ' ὀ πύθμην.  
 10 σὺ δὴ τ(ο)αύτας ἐκγεγόνων ἔχης  
 τὰν δόξαν οἶαν ἄνδρες ἐλεύθεροι  
 ἔσλων ἔοντες ἐκ τοκῆων

Fr. 3, margin.

]την ἔφη  
 ]κος σὺν  
 το]ῦ ἔθους  
 ], τας τὸ  
 συν]ήγοροι δ(ἐ)  
 ]

## Fr. 3.

. . . . .  
 πᾶν φόρτι[ο]ν δ[  
 δ' ὅτι μάλιστα σάο . [  
 καὶ κύματι πλάγισ[α βαρυκτύφω  
 ὄμβρω μάχεσθαι χε[ί]ματί τ' ἀγρίω  
 5 φαῖσ' οὐδὲν ἰμέρρη[ν, ἀφάντῳ  
 δ' ἔρματι τυπτομ[ένα ῥά]γηναι.

κήνᾱμενε<sup>ν</sup>τόντ[  
 τόντωνλελάθωνωφ[  
 σύντ'ύμμιτέρπ[  
 10 καιπεδαβύχιδοσαυθ . [   
 τὼδ'άμμεσεστανά[[<sup>ψ</sup>φ]]ερονα[  
 αἰκάιτισαφ[. . .] . αντατ[  
 [.]ειχυνντε[

Fr. 4.

. . . . .  
 ]ιπολιγ[  
 ]νεννε[  
 ] . . . [   
 ]τερ[  
 5 ] . νιτωταί[. .]ν[  
 ]γαισαιπα . [. .]κν . . [   
 ]ηωνεσφ . . κρο . . [   
 ]ελ[. .]πτεσεν . ασ[. .] . [   
 ]κεοσησκόνεκτον[  
 10 ]ποτυβρινκαιμεγαθε[. .]π[. .]ει . [   
 ]τατ'ανδρεσδραῖσινατασθαλ[  
 ]νκενησκόνεκτον[. .]δε[  
<sup>α</sup>  
 ]τεπολλακισε[. .]φαλη[. .]ν  
 ]ν[. .]ρθώθημε[  
 15 ]μέμικταιτω[  
 ]λλαπαῖτιδαί[

Fr. 5.

. .  
 ]ε . [   
 ]δα[  
 . .

Fr. 6.

. . . . .  
 ] . [   
 ]άλ . [   
 ]δωνευρε[  
 ]τέιν[. .]προ . εδιχμενον.

illegible  
 scholia

κήνα μὲν ἐν τούτ[οισι] κυλίνδεται·  
 τούτων λελάθων, ᾧ φίλε, βόλλομαι  
 σὺν τ' ἕμμι τέρπ[εσθαι] υ--  
 10 καὶ πεδὰ Βύκχιδος αὐθ . [  
 τῷ δ' ἄμμες ἐς τὰν ἄψ ἔρον ἀ[  
 αὶ καὶ τις ἀφ[. . .] . αντατ[  
 [.]εἰχυνντε[ς]

## Fr. 4.

. . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ]ι πόλιν [  
 [ . . . . . ]γεννε[  
 [ . . . . . ] . . . [  
 [ . . . . . ]τερ[  
 5 [ . . . . . ] . νιτω ται[ . ]ν[  
 [ . . . . . ]γαισαι πα . [ . ]κν . . [  
 [ . . . . . ]ήων ἐσφ . . κρο . . [  
 [ . . . . . ]ελ[ . ]πτεσεν . ασ[ . ] . [  
 [ . . . . . ]κεος ἦσκ' ὄνεκτον .  
 10 [ . . . . . ] ποτ' ὕβριν καὶ μέγα θε[ . ]π[ . ]ει . [  
 [ . . . . . ]τατ' ἄνδρες δραῖσιν ἀτάσθαλ[α  
 [τούτω]ν κεν ἦσκ' ὄνεκτον [οὐ]δέ[ν],  
 [καὶ πο]τα πόλλακισ ἐ[σ]φάλλη[με]ν·  
 [αὐθις δ' ὀ]ν[ω]ρθάθημέ[ν]  
 15 [ . . . . . ] μέμικται τω[  
 [ . . . . . ] ἀλλὰ πᾶ τι δαι[

## Fr. 5.

. . . . .  
 ]ι . [  
 ]δα[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 6.

. . . . .  
 ] . [  
 ]άλ . [  
 ]δων εὐρε[  
 ]τείν[ . ] προ . εδίχμενον·

5	]ότόντᾱσ[.]ισχοσ	. . ρα . σησδυν . . ρ . . [
	]ρεσθ' αναγκᾱ	. . α[. . . .]δε[. . .]λ . . . [
	]μνᾱιμ'[[α]]έτιγαρπάϊσ	. . [.]ν . [ . . . . . ] . νητ[
	]ωσμίκρ[.]σεπίσδανον	. . . τρ[. . . . .] . . [
	]νοῖδατῖμ[.] .	. . . λη . . σο . φ[
		α[.]ενεργουσιτ . . [
		[.]περιτουτο[
		[.]ενκαν[
10	]πενθιλησ[ ]	. [ . . . . ] . . . [
	]νυνδ' οπέδέτρη[	] . η[
	]νκακοπάτριδ[	
	]υρανένυ	

**Fr. 1.** 3-4. For *πίτερ* here and [*Zeū π*]άτερ in l. 7 cf. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, V, ii. 12. 1. Col. i 2 (Alcaeus) δ *πάτερ* followed by *αὐτὸς Κρονίδα[us]* in the next line.

8-9. *στά[τηρας]* W-M. [*ᾱμ*]', as he further suggests, is tempting for the next word, but the admissibility of the elision is open to question; *ᾱμ* is elided in Homer κ 551. The spelling *δισχελίους* is noticeable, *χέλλιος* being the form both attested by Grammarians and found in inscriptions; cf. Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* ii, pp. 486-7. In the marginal note opposite these lines *ωρσθαισ* is an impossible combination, but neither *ωρον* nor *ωρον αυ* seems admissible.

**Fr. 2.** i. 2. *τόδε* is a common v. l. for *τάδε* or vice versa; cf. e. g. 1231. Fr. 2. 12. For the elision before the digamma cf. 1232. Fr. 1. ii. 10, note.

3. *αι . ει*: the first *ε* is unusually close to the preceding *α* and seems to have been inserted after the next letter had been written. The very slight vestiges of this are consistent with *ι*, and it is thus natural to suppose that there was an alteration of *αι* to *αιι*. Beyond this there are tips of two strokes at the top and bottom of the line which would suit a *κ*, i. e. *αίικει*, but this would leave the construction very obscure.

4. *βάσμος* = *βαθμός* occurs in a Mytilenean inscription C. I. G. 2189. *φίλων* is an unknown form explained by W-M as equivalent to *φιλήτης*, which is commonly spelled *φιλήτης*; cf. 1084. ii. 3, note.

6-13. 'But let him in the pride of his marriage with the lineage of Atreus devour the city even as he did with Myrsilus, until Ares be pleased to restore success to us; then would we forget this wrath, and will rest from this soul-consuming pain and strife with kindred which some one of the Olympian gods has stirred up among us, bringing the people to ruin, but giving to Pittacus the meed of glory.'

6. *κῆνος*: sc. Pittacus. *γαώθεις* is a new verb akin apparently to the Homeric *γαίω* (*κύδει γαίω*); cf. *ἀγανός, gaudere, &c.* *γάμω* at the end of the line is restored by W-M from the scholium, in the second line of which he suggests *ἀπόγονοι δὲ οἱ Πενθελίδαί*, which however seems irreconcilable with the remains; the supposed *δ* (or *α*) after *απογονοι* has apparently been altered from a *τ*. Penthilus, from whom the Penthilids traced their descent, was the son of Orestes; cf. Diog. Laert. i. 81 *εὐγενεστέρᾳ γὰρ αὐτῷ οὐσα ἡ γυνή, ἐπειδήπερ ἦν Δράκοντος ἀδελφῆ τοῦ Πενθίλου, σφόδρα κατεσοβαρέετο αὐτοῦ*, and Fr. 6. 10 *Πενθίλησ[ς]*.

8. *θᾱs* is a *vox nihili*, of which *ᾱs* = *ἔως* (W-M) is a simple correction; cf. Sapph. 24,



5	ἀμβροτόντας [αἴσχος ]ρεσθ' ἀνάγκα μέ]μναιμ', ἔτι γὰρ πάις ]ω σμῖκρο]ς ἐπίσδανον, ]ν οἶδα τιμ[.] .	.. ρα . σης δυν . . ρ . . [ . .. α[. . . .]δε[. .]λ . . . [ . .. α[. . . .]αν[. .] . . . [ . .. [.]ν . [ . . . . ] . υμ( ) τ[ .. . τρ[. . . .] . . [ . .. . ἀπομερ[. . . .] . . [ . .. . λη . . σο . φ[ . .. α[.] ἐνεργοῦσι τ . . [ . .. [.] περὶ τοῦτο[υ .. [.] ἐνκαν[ . .. [ . . . . ] . . . [ . .. [.] . μ[ .
10	] Πενθίληο]ς ] ] νῦν δ' ὁ πεδέτρ[απε τὸ]ν κακοπάτριδ[α τ]υραννεύ-	

Theocr. xxix. 20. In the following word a circumflex accent has been substituted for an acute and a mark of short quantity, which have been enclosed between dots, as e. g. in 1174. ix. 12. At the end of the line ἐπὶ τεύχεα looks probable, but this would not account for the traces nor give a really satisfactory sense; to bring about a change, Ares must not merely incite the oligarchs to arms, but give them the victory. Hence W-M suggests ἐπιτεύχεας from an unattested form ἐπιτευχῆς = ὅς ἐπιτυγχάνει, 'to turn us to success'.

10. χαλάσσομεν may be regarded as future or = χαλάσσομεν; but the preceding lines indicate that Alcaeus is dwelling on the eventual results of success rather than making an appeal for peace.

12. αἰάταν for ἀφάταν is scanned as in Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 28, iii. 24.

13. The spelling Φίττακος is found on a Lesbian coin in Mionnet, *Syll.* vi, p. 64, no. 82. The power of Pittacus rested on popular support, as Alcaeus himself says (37) τὸν κακοπάτριδα Πίττακον πόλιος τὰς ἀχόλω (ζαχόλω, ἀβόλω?) καὶ βαρυδαίμονος ἐστάσαντο τύραννον μέγ' ἐπαίνεντες ἀόλλεες.

14-15. The first verse of the new poem was originally omitted, and has been supplied by a corrector who enclosed in brackets the line originally written and repeated it in its proper position, tacitly emending χοροῖν to χοῖρον. There is some appearance of letters having been washed out where this verse stands. The marginal note explains that the person addressed was an ἐρώμενος of Alcaeus, and seeks to elucidate the phrase ἐπ' ἔριφον καὶ χοῖρον κάλην. Lines 2-3 are apparently a paraphrase, e. g. φίλος (or -ον) . . . ὥστε σε καὶ ἐπὶ χοῖρον κ[αλεῖν, but χοῖρον is hardly to be read unless abbreviated; φίλος] would be possible if a tall stroke just before the lacuna may be regarded as belonging to the line above. In l. 3 the stroke before εἰς is like that used in the abbreviation of δέ. ]ωχίαν in l. 5 may be ]νχίαν.

11. 3-4. ἀκράτ[ισμον and πλάφλ[α]μοι σύ]ναχθεν were restored by W-M. The latter word, if right, must be regarded as a dialectical variation of the Attic παφλασμός; for ἀκρατισμός cf. Theocr. i. 51. σύ]ναχθεν = συνάχθησαν, a formation stated by the Grammarians to be shared by Aeolic with Doric, though not occurring in the previously existing remains of the Lesbian poets. ἐστάθησαν is used in Sapph. 53.

5. θαμέως for θάμα is unexpected here and perhaps wrongly read; the doubtful ω might be υ. For the following word W-M suggests [ὄρι]νην, which would suit the space; the first supposed ν may be α. The marginal note is too much mutilated to be of material assistance.

7-8. For *ὀνέτροπε* cf. Fr. 2. i. 9 *τρόπην*. The doubled *ν* in *ὀννωριπε* is analogous to Alc. 18. 1 *ἀσπνέτρημι*, which should perhaps be written *ἀσπινέτρημι*; cf. 1232. Fr. 1. ii. 6 *ἀ[ῖ]ν(ν)ῶω* (?). The object of the verbs in these two lines is obscure.

9. *πατάγησεκ'*: cf. Fr. 4. 9 and 12 *ῆσεκ'*. *ῆσκε* occurs in Alcman 72, but the iterative form is alien both to Aeolic and Doric; cf. Kühner-Blass, i. 2, p. 81.

10. *τ(ο)αυτας*: sc. *γοῆς*. For the spelling *ταυτας* cf. 1231. Fr. 14. 4. note, and for *ἐγγεγόντων*, Fr. 3. 8 *λελαῶτων*, Alc. 147 *πεφύγγων*, Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* ii. Inscr. 121. 5 *πεπεροσθεικων*, &c.

12. *τοσηων*: *γοσηων* was the reading of the first hand.

Fr. 3. 3-10. 'Stricken by a thunderous wave she avows the desire to fight no more against the rainstorm and the fierce tempest, but to strike a hidden reef and be wrecked. Such are the seas whereon she is tossed; but I would forget this, my friend, and find pleasure with you and [keep company:] with Bacchus.'

3-7. The restoration is mainly due to W-M. Under the figure of the distressed ship the state is no doubt described, as in Alc. 18-19: cf. Heraclid. *Alleg. Hom.* 5 *ἐν ἱκανοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν Μιταληναίων μελοποιῶν εἰρήσομεν ἀλληγοροῦντα, τὰς γὰρ τυραννικὰς παραχὰς ἐξ ἴσου χειμερίῳ προσεαῖζει καταπύματι θαλάσσης: ἀσπινέτρημι κτλ. . . . Μιτροδῶς γὰρ ὁ ἐπλοῦμένος ἐστὶ καὶ τυραννικὴ κατὰ Μιταληναίων ἐγειρομένη σύστασις.*

5. *φαῖς'*: so Sapph. 66. The personification is assisted by the fact that the real subject is *ἡ πῶλις*; cf. the previous note.

*ἀφαντῶ*: or e. g. *ἀσημῶ*, as in Anacr. 36.

8. For *λελαῶτων* cf. the note on Fr. 2. ii. 10. *ϕ* is very uncertain and *τ* might be read instead.

10. *Βίειδες*: so Alc. 35. 3 *Βίειν*. At the end of the line *αἰ βάμίσθην*, e. g., may be supplied, but the letters are very uncertain: *αρβ*. [ is an alternative.

11. *τῶν*: sc. *ναῶν*.

12. Perhaps *ἀφ[ρων] πάντα*; the lines, however, are too much mutilated for satisfactory restoration.

13. [*μ*]εἰχνοτε[ς]? Cf. 1233. Fr. 5. 7. But the form is unknown.

Fr. 4. 1-2. The letters *ν* and *νε* immediately below are on a separate fragment rather doubtfully placed here.

9. *ῆσεκ'*: cf. l. 12 and Fr. 2. ii. 9. note.

10-11. W-M suggests e. g. [*αἶν*] *ποτ'* and [*ἀρρη*] *τά τ'*. The doubtful *π* in the latter part of l. 10 may be *γ*, or *τ* preceded by a narrow letter after *θε*.

12. [*ταύτα*] W-M.

14. Restored by W-M.

15. *μέμικται*: the first *μ* is most uncertain, and the second could well be *ν*.

Fr. 5. This little piece probably belongs to Fr. 4, coming perhaps from the beginnings of ll. 6-8: but there is no evident junction.

Fr. 6. The right-hand margin opposite and above ll. 1-4 is filled with a long and much mutilated note or notes of which only a few letters can be distinguished here and there.

5. *ἀμβροτότατος* W-M.

7-8. E. g. [*ὀλλ'* *οἱ* *τι* *τῶν* *μέμικταιμ'* . . . [*τρόφω* *π* *π* *καὸς* *ω*]. In l. 7 *μικταιμ* *αρτι* was apparently originally written, the alteration being probably due to the second hand. In

the marginal note opposite, the suspended  $\mu$  may perhaps be a relic of another line above.

10. Πενθίληος = Πενθίλειος from Πένθιλος. Cf. note on Fr. 2. i. 6.

11-13. πεδέτρ[απε W-M; sc. ὁ δαίμων or Ζεύς. For ll. 12-13 cf. Alc. 37 quoted above in the note on Fr. 2. i. 13. τ]υραννεί[ουτα is to be restored at the end of the last line.

### 1235. ARGUMENTS OF MENANDER'S PLAYS.

25 × 17.5 cm.

Early second century.

Remains of three consecutive columns, written in a rather large informal hand which appears to be not later than the first half of the second century. Stops and other signs are rarely used; there is one not very clear instance of a high point (l. 105), but the usual method of indicating a pause was a short blank space, sometimes accompanied by a marginal paragraphus. An angular mark of the usual shape is once added at the end of a short line (l. 62), while conversely the final letter of longer ones is occasionally suspended.

Of the first column very little is left, no more than a few letters from the ends of the lines, but the two columns succeeding are in fair preservation. These are for the most part occupied with an account of the plot of Menander's *Ἰέρεια*, that of the *Ἰμβριοι* commencing towards the end of Col. iii. The title of the piece is here followed by its opening words, the quotation being marked, as often happens, by the projection of the lines into the left margin. This is succeeded by a short historical note concerning the date and circumstances of the production of the play (ll. 105-12), then comes the story of the drama, and finally, apparently, a brief appreciation of its qualities (cf. ll. 95-102). Such presumably was the scheme throughout; and on the analogy of Col. iii, the position in Col. i of the title of the *Ἰέρεια* and of the heading of its *ὑπόθεσις* can be fixed with some security at points where blanks in the papyrus indicate unusually short lines (ll. 13-14, 21). A single play thus occupied about two columns, and if all Menander's comedies, which numbered over one hundred, were treated on the same scale, the work was an extensive one, and must have occupied two rolls at least; the presence of a strengthening strip of papyrus on the back of Col. iii may perhaps be interpreted as an indication of a lengthy roll. Since the *Ἰμβριοι* follows the *Ἰέρεια*, the arrangement of the plays was presumably alphabetic, as suggested by Körte in the case of the plays of Cratinus, to whose Dionysalexandrus in 663, containing the argument of the play, is assigned the number 8. The comedy preceding the *Ἰέρεια*, and described in the upper portion of Col. i, may accordingly be supposed to be the *Θρασυλέων*, but the very slight remains in the papyrus afford no confirmation of this hypothesis.

Concerning the plot of the *Ἰέρεια* practically nothing was previously known, the short passage on religious superstition upon which Meineke based some inferences being of a general character, and giving no real clue to the structure. The play was largely concerned with the favourite subject of the discovery of a relationship, but the loss of practically the whole of the first twelve lines of the *ὑπόθεσις* obscures the earlier development. An elderly man, who seems to have formerly been the husband of the priestess, had lost his son; the cause of his wife's separation from him and the manner of the son's disappearance remain in doubt. Reference is made in l. 36 to the burial of something, but the bearing of this incident upon the plot is also problematical. The son had been brought up as their own by some neighbours with a younger boy, their genuine child, and the real father discovers his whereabouts through the ingenuity of a slave, who gained the confidence of the priestess by pretending to be possessed; but mistaking the identity of the two young men he at first claimed the junior, and the latter misled his reputed brother by declaring that the old man was mad and was recognizing a lost son in every youth whom he met. Accordingly the brother who was the true son rejects his father's advances when offered to himself. Here lacunae occur in the papyrus, and the immediate sequel is uncertain; but eventually the misunderstandings were cleared away and the comedy closes in the usual happy fashion, the reinstated son marrying his foster-sister, the younger brother marrying the daughter of the priestess, and the old man apparently being paired off anew with the priestess herself. No names are mentioned, and whether *Ῥόδη*, which occurs on an extant fragment, belongs to the priestess or to one of the other women in the piece, is not clear.

Of the plot of the *Ἰμβριοί* only the first few lines remain, showing that it was concerned with two poor residents of Imbros who were close friends and partners, and married two sisters. The title of the piece is thus quite sufficiently accounted for without any reference to the proverb *Ἰμβριος δίκη*, which Kock has connected with it (iii, p. 71). But though we learn little of the story, some interesting information is gained concerning the date and production of the piece. This was one of Menander's later works, probably the 71st, 73rd, 76th, or 79th (ll. 106-7), but possibly the 74th or 75th; it is said to have been written in the archonship of Nicocles, i. e. 302-301 B.C., and intended to appear at the Dionysia (of that year), but to have been obstructed by the Tyranny of Lachares. These statements appear to be mutually conflicting, for the domination of Lachares is now commonly brought down to the spring of 295 B.C. on the strength of an inscription indicating a political change in that year (C. I. A. ii. 299, Wilamowitz, *Antigonos* (*Phil.-Untersuch.* iv), p. 238, Beloch iii. 2, pp. 197-8, Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 132-3); and the name Nicocles, as Wilamowitz

suggests, may be supposed to be a mistake for Nicias, the archon of 296-295 B.C. Textual corruptions have to be recognized in one or two other places in the papyrus; cf. notes on ll. 48-9, 58-63, 66. It should, however, be noticed that the attribution of the Ἰμβριοί to the year 296-295 is not entirely free from objection. Menander died in 292-291, probably in the latter part of the year, and the total number of his plays is stated as from 105 (Apollodorus) to 109 (Gellius, *N. A.* xvii. 4. 4; Suidas and others make it 108). The *Imbrians* was at most the 79th, and therefore during the last four and a half years of his life the poet must be credited with at least twenty-six plays, nearly six a year. His first piece was brought out in 321, so that his average down to 295 was only three a year. So far then as the question of literary output goes, the earlier date assigned, e. g., by Clinton to the Lachares incident, 299 B. C., would have been more suitable, giving an even average throughout Menander's productive period.

## Col. i.

	] <td></td> <td>]ειν</td>		]ειν
	]λεν		]να
	]ροσ		]ι
	]μει	20	]
5	]σ	η δ υποθεσις ]	
	]		]ε
	]τον		]κν
	]ιχα		]αι
	]ελι	25	]διε
10	]σω		]ηι
	]εται		]α
	]ινο		]εισ
	]		]ο
	Ιερεία ης αρχη ]	30	]ε
15	]ορε		] . .
	]α α		

## Col. ii.

[. . . . .]ιτ[. . . . .]λυσα  
 [. . . . .]ετ . [. . . . .]ν και  
 [. . . . .]ον η δ ιερ[εια πο]λυ μεν

- 35 [. . . .]ησεν τον σ[. . .]ξουν  
 [. . . .] κατωρυξεν ο[. . .]. ση  
 [. . . .]νηλθον οι πα[ιδε]ς ο  
 [δε το πρ]οτερον γε[νο]μενος  
 [της ιερει]ας ανηρ ν . [.]ασπα
- 40 [. . . . .] επισκεπτ[ομ]ενης  
 [. . . . .]δος πα[. . .]σασ  
 [. . . . .] . [.]σ . [.]α  
 [. . . . . αν]ασφηλας ζητειν  
 [επε]χειρησεν τον αγαπητον
- 45 οικετης δε πεισθεις ηνεχθη  
 προς την ιερειαν ως θεοφο  
 ρουμενος θεραπειας ινα α  
 ξιωθη λαθραι την δ αληθει  
 αν πεπεισμενος εξειχνευ
- 50 σεν ο δε της υποβεβλημε  
 νης τον υιον αυτη[ς] γνησιος  
 μειρακισκος την της ιερει  
 ας θυγατερα γημαι προαιρου  
 μενος εισεπεμψε την μη
- 55 τερα διαλεξομενην προς  
 την ιε[ρ]ειαν περι αυτου λα  
 λουσων δε των γυναικων  
 υποψιαν λαβων και μαλισ  
 θ υπο του θεραποντος δι
- 60 δαχθεις προσωπαι διαλ  
 λατων τον νεωτερον τω  
 γιτωνων νον ως εαυτου  
 προσφωνει γνους δ εκει  
 νος αυτου το διαμαρτη
- 65 μα τον αδελφον προδια  
 σειει λεγων μεμενηκε  
 ναι τον πρεσβυτην και παι  
 τας τους νεους υιους απο  
 φαινειν αυτου διο και με

70 τα ταυτα την αληθειαν ε  
 ξετασαντος του γεροντος  
 και τον πρεσβυ[τερον] προσ  
 φωνουντος υο[ν ω]ς μαινο  
 μενον εκει[νος απο]πεμ  
 75 πει αμα δ ο τ[. . . . .]ς  
 υπο του θερα[ποντος . . .

## Col. iii.

πο . [ . . . . . ]  
 τατ[. . . . .]ωτ[. . . . .]  
 μη[. . . . .]ερω[. . . . .]  
 80 ανι[. . . . .] . γαμ[. . . . .]  
 παγ[. . . . .]μενος α[. . . . .]  
 απα[. . . . .] περιδ[. . . . .]  
 κον[. . . . .]ων δε[. . . . .]  
 ελθ[. . . . .] ο μεν π[ρεσβυτης  
 85 τον υ[ιον απ]ολαβω[ν γαμει  
 την [ι]ε[ρειαν ο δε υιος αυτου  
 λαμβαν[ει την θυγατερα των  
 θρεψαι[των ο δε νεωτερος  
 και γνησ[ιος των γειτονων  
 90 υιος λαμ[βαν]ει την [της ιερει  
 ας ην ηγαπησεν κα[ι ποιουν  
 ται γαμοι των τριων [ . . . . .  
 ερωσ προυξενησε ε[δ]. . . . .  
 των διδοντων ον δ[. . . . .  
 95 τα [μ]εν [ουν] της υποθ[εσεως  
 εσ[τι ταυτα] το δε δ[ραμα των  
 α[ριστων εχ]ει δε πρ[. . . . .  
 ε[. . . . .]ν νεαν υ[. . . . .  
 φι[. . . . .]υς οικετη[. . . . .  
 100 λο[. . . . .]ν και παι[. . . . .  
 ε . [ . . . ε]πι πασιν και τ[. . . . .

το[υ] παραφωνησ[ι]ν πρ[. . . . .  
 Ιμβριοι ων αρχη [  
 Δι οσου χρονου σε Δημέ τ[. . . .  
 105 βελτιστ εγω ταυτην [εγρα  
 ψεν επι Νεικοκλεο[υς . . .  
 την και εβδομηκοστ[ην και  
 εδωκεν εις εργασιαν [εις τα  
 Διονυσια ουκ εγενετο δε δια  
 110 Λαχαρην τον τυραννο[ν επει  
 τα υπεκρεινατο Καλλιπ  
 προς Αθηναιος [[η]]  
 η δ υποθεσις  
 δυο πενητες αλληλω[ν φι  
 115 λοι κοινον ποιησαμεν[οι τον  
 βιον Ιμβρον ωικησαν κ[αι  
 διδυμας αδελφας εγη[μαν  
 κοινοποιησαμενοι π[ασαν  
 αμα και την υπαρξιν φιλο  
 120 πονως δε και κατα γην [και  
 κατα θαλατταν εργαζ[ομε]νοι

## Unplaced fragments.

1.	2.	3.
. . .	. . .	. . .
]την δε[	]θεισ[	]. [
]κακαι ο[	]νειν[	]ποντ[
]. υπετ[	]την[	. . .
]ο[	. . .	
. . .		

ll. 37 sqq. 'The former husband of the priestess . . . having recovered tried to seek out the son whom he loved. His servant was persuaded to be brought to the priestess under pretence of being possessed, in order that he might be accorded treatment; and he secretly obtained information and discovered the truth. The true son of the mother of the supposititious child desiring to marry the daughter of the priestess sent his mother to speak with the priestess about him. While the women were talking [the old man, who] had become suspicious, and especially in consequence of the information of his servant that



there was a difference in personal appearance, addresses the younger of his neighbour's sons as his own. The youth discerning his mistake intimidates his brother in advance by saying that the old man was mad and was declaring every young man to be his son. Accordingly when the old man subsequently learned the truth and addressed the elder as his son the latter sends him away as being mad. At the same time . . . the old man having recovered his son marries the priestess, and the son receives the daughter of his foster-parents and the younger and true son of the neighbours receives the daughter of the priestess whom he had loved, and the marriages of all three pairs are celebrated . . . Such are the incidents of the plot. The play is one of the best and . . .

The Imbrians, commencing "For how long a time, Demcas, I . . .". "My good man, I . . ." This he wrote in the archonship of Nicocles, being his 7[.]th play, and issued it for production at the Dionysia; but it did not take place on account of the tyrant Lachares. The play was subsequently acted by the Athenian Callippus. The plot is as follows: Two poor men who were friends lived in close association at Imbros and married twin sisters; and sharing all their possessions too they worked industriously both on land and sea . . .

32-42. A fragment containing the central portions of these lines at no point joins directly on to the main piece, but its position, which is commended by the suitability of the restorations resulting in ll. 37-40, is confirmed by the external evidence of both recto and verso.

39.  $\nu\sigma[\sigma\eta]as$  (cf. l. 43) could hardly be got into the space.

45. The  $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  is doubtless identical with the  $\theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\omega\nu$  of ll. 59 and 76, and is the servant of the old man, whom he assists in the discovery of the lost son.

48-9. The transposition  $\lambda\alpha\theta\rho\alpha\iota \delta\epsilon \tau\eta\nu$  seems to be necessary, as well as W-M's emendation of  $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  to  $\pi\epsilon\pi\nu\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ .

58-63. Here again the papyrus text is unsatisfactory. The subject of this sentence must be the old man, and probably  $\delta \pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$  or an equivalent expression has dropped out. In l. 60 also  $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$  causes difficulty and is well emended by W-M to  $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ , though the addition of a subject, e. g.  $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , is still desirable. The meaning will then be that the two young men differed in appearance, one of them not taking after the rest of the family.

66.  $\mu\epsilon\mu\eta\nu\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$  is clearly to be corrected with W-M to  $\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\nu\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ ; cf. ll. 73-4.

72.  $\omicron$  in the termination of  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\phi\omega\nu\omicron\nu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  was corrected from  $\alpha$ .

75.  $\pi[\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\eta]\varsigma$ , as W-M proposes, looks obvious, but a  $\pi$  is hardly to be read. What remains of the first letter is a horizontal stroke which suggests only a  $\tau$ , for though the upper stroke of  $\pi$  sometimes projects slightly to the left of the upright, this projection is nowhere else in the papyrus so long as it would be here.

77. The vestige of the letter after  $\omicron$  points to  $\upsilon$  or  $\psi$  ( $\upsilon\pi\omicron\psi\iota\alpha\nu$ ?) or possibly  $\nu$ .

78-85. The fragment containing the middles of the lines, like that at the top of the preceding column, is detached, but its position here, though not so securely fixed, is nevertheless probable. Some dark fibres on the verso serve as a guide to its relative place in the column, and satisfactory supplements in ll. 84-5 are thus obtainable. At the end of the latter line  $\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota$  is an inference from l. 92.

87-9. Restored substantially by W-M.  $\tau\omega\nu \gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\nu\omega\nu$  rather than  $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omega\nu$  is required to fill the lacuna.

93-4.  $\epsilon\rho\omega\varsigma \pi\rho\omicron\upsilon\zeta\epsilon\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon$ , as W-M remarks, hardly sounds like prose and  $\pi\rho\omicron\upsilon\zeta\epsilon\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon \dots \tau\omega\nu \delta\iota\delta\omicron\nu\tau\omega\nu$  would fit into a tetrameter; but the latter parts of the lines do not readily lend themselves to restoration. In l. 93  $\epsilon\iota$  may be  $\sigma\upsilon$  and the  $\delta$  is possibly a  $\beta$ .

95-7. W-M's restoration is convincing.

98. Possibly τῆ]ν νεαν κ[ωμοδία]ν, but a κ, though possible, is hardly so suitable as ν.  
 102. παραφώνη] was followed by some rounded letter; παραφώνησις does not occur, but παραφώνη εν would be still less satisfactory. τω[ι] could be substituted for το[υ].  
 104. The insertion of the omitted α of Δημεα may be due to the original scribe. The following letter, if not τ, must be ψ.  
 106. πρω]την, τρι]την, εκ]την or ενα]την are best suited to the space.  
 109-10. Restored by W-M. ο of τυραννο]ν is not very satisfactory, but has perhaps undergone some correction.  
 112. The scribe apparently began to write η δ υποθεσις in this line.  
 118. π[ασαν W-M.

Fr. 3. This fragment does not well suit ll. 75-6; that it belongs to 1235 is not absolutely certain.

1236. MENANDER, *Epitrepontes*.

9 × 15.6 cm.

Fourth century.

A useful addition to the extensive fragments already extant of the Ἐπιτρέποντες is made by the following fragment, part of a vellum leaf inscribed in well-formed sloping uncials of medium size. Though smaller in scale this script shows a general similarity to those of 1011 and 1225, and is likely to be of approximately the same period. The MS. is thus not far removed in age from the Cairo papyrus, the comparatively late date of which M. Lefebvre now recognizes. Accents, breathings, and marks of elision are added here and there, some by the original scribe, others by a second hand which employed a blacker ink and has also made textual corrections. Stops in two positions, high and medial, occur, and double dots mark changes of speaker, but by a natural extension this symbol has also been sometimes used as a quotation mark to distinguish words put by the speaker into his own or another person's mouth, c. g. recto 8, verso 7. Presumably marginal paragraphi were also employed, but they are no longer discernible where they are expected on the damaged surface of the verso. The recto of the leaf was ruled both horizontally and vertically with a hard point.

Parts of twenty-two lines are preserved on each page, the breadth of which is consistent with the supposition that about an equal number has disappeared—a supposition probable for reasons to be stated below. The lines on the recto correspond with *Epitrep.* 459-80 (Körte, ed. 2), and make three small contributions to the text, the correct completion of l. 465 and probably of l. 464, and the confirmation of a reading concerning which there was a division of opinion in l. 476. The contents of the verso are of more importance, for these, with an exception to be referred to presently, are novel; but unfortunately this side of the leaf is badly damaged, and decipherment is in places difficult and uncertain.

Considerable lacunae occur in the Cairo MS. at a distance of about twenty lines both before and after the passage found here on the recto, and either of these lacunae is therefore available for the new lines of the verso; but it is clear from ll. 8-9 that Charisius is there the speaker, and there can be little doubt that Prof. Körte is right in supposing that we here have the conclusion of the monologue which begins at l. 487. At first sight, indeed, the double dots in l. 7 and the vocative *Σμικρίνη* suggest a conversation in which Smicrines was taking part, but that is inconsistent with the context, and the dots are easily explained on the analogy of recto 8 as marking a speech within a speech. At l. 10 the slave Onesimus, who in fear of his master's violent mood had left the scene at l. 486, reappears, and on being observed by Charisius, who suspects him of eavesdropping, engages in a dialogue which is carried on through the remainder of the page and to which P. Cairo Fr. U (ll. 501<sup>1-6</sup>, 510<sup>1-6</sup>) in all probability also belongs.

But the contribution of 1236 to the reconstruction of this portion of the play does not end here. Further progress becomes possible through the recognition of the coincidence between verso 12 sqq. with P. Cairo Fr. β<sup>1</sup>, part of a double leaf hitherto wrongly assigned to the *Περικειρομένη* (Körte, ed. 2, p. 93). That attribution rested on the supposed occurrence of the name *Πολ(έμων)* in the margin, but this must be a misreading, which can be corrected only by the aid of the original. If, then, Körte is right, as seems likely, in supposing P. Cairo Fr. H to have been the third sheet of a quire (ed. 2, p. xviii), β must have been the fourth, and Fr. Q, which, if part of the fourth sheet, belonged to its first leaf (Körte, *l. c.*), must be the bottom of β<sup>1-2</sup>. Q<sup>2</sup> contains remains of 9 lines, β<sup>1</sup> remains of 18 lines; and, since the first verse of β<sup>1</sup> coincides with the twelfth of 1236 verso, 11 more lines at least preceded β<sup>1</sup> 1. A total of 38 lines for this first page of the fourth sheet is thus arrived at, which is the largest number of lines found on a page in the Cairo papyrus. This total might be slightly reduced by a combination between the last lines of β<sup>1</sup> and the first of Q<sup>2</sup>, e. g., as Körte proposes,

τί φησιν(?): εἴσοι, νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω [καὶ θε]οῦ[s].  
[τί δέ] με περισπᾶς κτλ.

The abruptness of the intervention of Habrotonon, who according to the current reconstruction takes up the dialogue at this point, would however be a difficulty, but, as Wilamowitz remarks, the restoration of her name in l. 510 is highly conjectural, since all that remains is its last syllable and of this the first *ν* is hardly justified by the facsimile. More probably the dialogue is carried on with Onesimus alone. In any case it is clear from the foregoing figures that 1236. verso 1 follows very closely, if not immediately, after *Epitrep.* 501. On the supposition that there

was no interval, the number of lines to the page in 1236 works out at 43. The lower part of the verso and  $\beta^1$  usefully supplement each other, while on  $\beta^2$  a choral song, the occurrence of which hereabouts had been already suggested by Körte (p. xxix), is marked, and the proof of the division of the *Epitrepointes* into five acts is thus obtained. This indication of a choral ode is a deciding factor in fixing the position of Fr. U, for since there is no extra space between any of the lines on the recto, it follows that these—if they belong to the same leaf as  $\beta^{1-2}$ —must either all precede the eleventh line of  $\beta^2$ , where the direction *Χοροῦ* stood, or all follow it. The latter alternative is inconsistent with the apparently close relation of  $\beta^1$  and Q<sup>2</sup>. U<sup>1</sup> therefore probably forms part of the dialogue of Onesimus with Charisius; the appearance of Chaerestratus may naturally be placed in the next scene, and Q<sup>1</sup> will accordingly follow  $\beta^2$ . No convincing combination however has at present been obtained either of 1236. verso 16-21 (=  $\beta^1$  5-10) with U<sup>2</sup> or of  $\beta^2$  with U<sup>1</sup>. A further examination of the papyrus might be helpful.

## Recto.

τον [δεσποτην λεγω Χαρισιον χολη  
 μελαινα προσπεπτωκεν η τοιουτο τι 460  
 τι γαρ αν τις ε[ικασειεν αλλο το γεγονος  
 προς ταις θυραις γαρ [ενδον αρτιως πολυη  
 5 χρονον διακυπτων ε[νδιατριβειν αθλιος  
 ο πατηρ δε τῆς νυμφης τι [περι το]ν [π]ρ[αγματος  
 ελαλει προς εκείνην ως εοικ[ε]ν. δ[ι] δ' εια μεν 465  
 ατ'  
 ηλαττε [[το]] χρώμ άνδρες ουδ' ειπείν καλον :  
 ω γλυκυτατη δε των λογων οιοὺς λεγεις  
 10 ανέκραγε την κεφαλην τ' ανεπαταξε σφοδρα  
 αουτου. παλιw τε διαλιπων. διαν λαβων  
 γυναιχ' [α] δ' μέλεος ητύχη[κ]α. το δε πέρας 470  
 ω[s] παντα διακουσας ἀπηλθ' εισω ποτε  
 [βρ]υχηθμος ενδον. τ[ι]λμος. εκστασις συχηη.  
 15 [εγω γαρ α]λιτήρι[ος πυκ]νοι πανυ  
 [ελεγεν το]ιουτο[ν εργο]ν εξειργασμενος  
 [αυτος γεγο]νωσ τ[ε παι]διου νοθου πατηρ 475  
 [ουκ εσχον ουδ' εδωκα συ]γγνωμης μερος

[ουθεν ατυχουση ταυτ εκει]νη· βαρβαρος  
 20 [ανηλεης τε λαιδορειτ ερρ]ωμενωσ  
 [αυτωι βλεπει θ υφαιμον] ηρεθισμεν[οσ  
 [πεφρικ εγω μεν αυοσ ειμι τ]ω δεει [ 480

## Verso.

[ 28 letters ]γ  
 [ „ ]· βαρβαρο·  
 [.....σ]υν ταυτη σοφῶσ  
 [.....]ε μέτεισι δια τελουσ  
 5 [.....των δαιμ]ονων τις· ο δε πατηρ  
 [·.]... εστ' αυτης χρήσεται· τι δε μοι πατροσ  
 [ερ]ω διαρρηδην : εμοι συ Σμικρίνη  
 [μη] παρεχε πράγματ' ουκ απολείπει μ[[ε]] ἢ γυνη  
 [τ]ι ουν ταραττεισ και βιάζη Παμφιλην  
 Ονη  
 10 [τ]ι σ αυ βλέπω γω : πανυ κακῶσ εχω σφοδρα·  
 [ο]μοι ταλασ· και σο[υ] δεομαι· τουτοις· ε··· α  
 μη μ' εγ'καταλιπησ[:] ουτοσ επακροώμε[νοσ  
 έσθηκασ ἱερόσυλ εμου [: μ]α τουσ θεουσ  
 αλλ' αρτιωσ εξηλθον· α[····] λαθειν [  
 15 εσται σε πρα·· μια··[····]· ησ··[  
 παντ' επακροάσει : ποτ[····]ουθ[  
 [εγ]ω σε λανθανειν που[  
 [βρο]ντωντα : δια· ε[  
 [αλλ ου]θεν οφθησε[ι  
 20 [τισ εισ··]· αυ· εἶσ· [·  
 [·  
 [ουκ οισ···]γ····[·  
 [ουκ ην εμον···]· [·  
 [·  
 [·

Recto. 3. ε[ικασειεν : [εικ]ασειεν P. Cairo, the letters doubtfully read. The vestige here of the letter after τις well suits ε.

6. περι το]ν [π]ρ[αγματος: περι . [ P. Cairo. The vestiges in 1236, though slight, are sufficient to exclude most of the proposed restorations; they indicate letters descending somewhat below the line, like ρ, τ, υ, φ, ψ. Croiset's τοῦ πράγματος is thus suitable, and in the Cairo papyrus a τ after περι is not impossible.

7. εοικ' ο δ[ P. Cairo, completed by Wilamowitz [ὡς πυκνῶ. Above the deleted ι there is an oblique mark, the purpose of which is not evident.

8. The corrections are due to the second hand, which also rewrote the accent of χρώματ', probably altering it from a circumflex.

9. The accents on οἰους are probable, though not very distinct.

10. τ' ανεπαταξε: the reading of P. Cairo, for which Headlam and van Leeuwen proposed to substitute θ' ἄμ' ἐπάταξε, is confirmed.

11. τε: δε P. Cairo, probably rightly.

12. Apparently γυναικα was originally written and has been altered by the second hand to γυναιχ'. A mark precisely similar to the elision sign also stands above ι; possibly it is a miswritten accent.

18. Van Leeuwen's suggestion συγγν[ώμ]ης [μέ]ρος, accepted with hesitation by Körte, is happily confirmed. συγγν[.]ης (or -ν) [.]ρος (or ο for ω and ν for ς) Lefebvre, συγγν . μην . ρων doubtfully Jensen.

Verso. 2. βαρβαρο .: cf. *Épître* 477.

5. W-M remarks that μετσει in l. 4 suggests δαμ]ουον rather than γειτ]ουον.

6. If [.] . . . εστατ' is an adverb, as seems to be the case (not [προ]πετεστατ', apparently), αυτης must be an error for αυτη. For τι δε μοι πατρος W-M compares Homer Φ 360 τί μοι ἔριδος καὶ ἀρωγῆς ;

7. [ερ]ω W-M and Körte.

9-10. Either ον ταπαττεις or συνταπαττεις is possible. The final ν in Παμφίλην is very uncertain and perhaps non-existent, but βιαζη is a rather more suitable reading than διαζη, and moreover the accented α is then correct. The commencement of the next line is very doubtful, but βλεπω seems more likely to refer to the appearance of Onesimus on the scene than to stand in connexion with the preceding sentence, and [τ]ι σ αυ, which was suggested by W-M, suits the remains sufficiently well.

10-12. Körte thinks that these verses belong to Charisius, the double dots after γω only marking the close of his imaginary address to Smicrines, and Ονη standing for 'Ονήσιμος ἐξέρχεται. This may be so, but the more natural interpretation of the passage as here written is to give πανν κακος . . . εγκαταλιπης to Onesimus, and the words are moreover in thorough accord with the close of his preceding speech, ll. 484-6 οἰχομαι, ἀπόλωλα . . . Ζεῦ σῶτερ εἶπερ ἐστὶ δυνατόν, σῶζε με. The absence of double dots after εγκαταλιπης, if it were certain, would be in favour of Körte's view, but it is quite possible that they were written and have disappeared (a hole in the vellum would have removed the upper one at any rate), although the ς and the following ο of ουτος are rather close together.

In l. 11 σο]ν, if right, refers to the illegible name at the end of the line, but the reading is very doubtful, and the first letter may be τ. The ο is followed by a vestige which could belong to a ν or another τ, but is perhaps due to the penetration of ink from the recto. ομαι was apparently preceded either by ε or σ. After τουτοις, . ε may possibly be a single letter, μ, and it is not clear that the supposed u following was the final letter of the line. The second κ of κακος in l. 10 is a correction by the second hand from λ.

12 sqq. From this line onwards Fr. β<sup>1</sup> of the Cairo papyrus (Körte, ed. 2, p. 93) is available for comparison, and the beginnings of ll. 17-22 are restored from that source. In that fragment paragraphi occur below the verses corresponding to ll. 13, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

13.  $\mu$ ]α τους θεους W-M, who further proposed ιεροσυλος: ου κτλ., which, however, is unsatisfactory, partly because the termination is apparently -λε, not -λος, partly because ου [ $\mu$ ]α insufficiently fills the space. A negative is unnecessary with αλλ' following, and εμου, though extremely uncertain, is a possible reading. The traces of writing after θεους may be attributed to penetration from the recto.

14. εξηλθον': or possibly εξηλθον:, the lower dot having disappeared in a hole; but there is no paragraphus in β'.

15. The remains are very puzzling: the letter before the supposed  $\mu$  looks more like a  $\nu$  than anything else. Since παντ' επακροασει in the next line clearly belongs to Charisius, there should be a paragraphus in β' below εσται, if ll. 14 and 15 both belong to Onesimus; cf. the preceding note. A paragraphus below εσται is rather suggested by the Cairo facsimile (Plate xlvi), but this may be deceptive.

1237. MENANDER, *Colax*.

7.7 × 9.5 cm.

Third century.

That the following fragments belong to the *Colax* of Menander is established by the coincidence of the first two verses of Fr. 1 with ll. 52-3 of 409. Below l. 53 in that papyrus there is a coronis, and a short line of about twelve letters follows, after which the dialogue is continued. It was supposed both by ourselves and subsequent editors that no more than the conclusion of the defective verse had dropped out; but the view of Wilamowitz that there was a more considerable lacuna is now confirmed, for in 1237 sixteen lines succeed the two already extant verses without any further coincidence with 409. Of the height of the column in 1237 there is no indication, and perhaps the passage inveighing against flatterers, which in the previously published text follows l. 53, stood in the present papyrus at the foot of Fr. 1, Col. i; the introduction at ll. 16-17 of Gnatho, evidently a parasite, suggests that he was its occasion; but the lacuna in 409 may have been of still greater extent. This name Gnatho is unexpected, for though in the *Eunuchus* of Terence, a play based on the *Colax*, the *parasitus Colax* is called Gnatho, in Menander's play, as is shown by an extant fragment (Kock 293, Körte 2; cf. Plut. *De adul.* 13), this role was filled by Struthias. Unless, therefore, Gnatho be regarded as a nickname of Struthias, more than one parasite figured in the *Colax*; perhaps, as suggested by Wilamowitz, Struthias was the dependant of Bias, Gnatho of Phidias. It is noticeable that the two names are connected by Lucian, *Fugit.* 19 κολακείας ἕνεκα τὸν Γναθωνίδην ἢ τὸν Στρουθίαν ὑπερβαλέσθαι δυνάμειοι. Another addition made by this papyrus to the *dramatis personae* is Δᾶος (Fr. 1. i. 16, ii. 3), who is presumably to be identified as the elderly slave with whom Phidias carries on the dialogue of 409. ii. The ποροβόσκος alluded to in Fr. 1. ii. 2 is the speaker of 409. iii. 78 sqq.

The hand of the papyrus is a rather small sloping semi-cursive, dating

probably from the third century. A single dot in the high position is used as a stop, and the usual double dots in combination with paragraphi denote alternations in the dialogue, the name of the individual speaker being sometimes added above the line. A mark of quantity and a sign of elision occur once each. All these adjuncts are to be credited to the original scribe.

## Fr. 1.

## Col. i.

ετερωσ]ε· τι διδασκεις κακα·

απ]ο]β<sub>αι</sub>νεις ταδικειν :

]με : ναι :

] . και πεπρακ' αρα

5

]α ελπιδων

] εκεινον μεν ω

]νην δηπου . . . . .

] εχω· το δ εγκα]λειν

] . με· ως ου δεον

10

]ω τον χρωμενον :

ε]μβεβροντησαι παλαι

]κλινων ματην

]αις χερ[. . .]

] τουτονι

15

]ς λαμβανειν :

<sup>Δαος</sup>

:] ουκουν Γναθω]ν

]οιγε : ω Γναθων [

]μβ[

. . . . .

## Col. ii.

περανουμεν : ω[

τον πορνοβοσκο]ν

<sup>Δαος</sup>

παντων : πολ]ν . [

α[

5

[

[

ευ[

μα[

θ . [

. . . . .

## Fr. 2.

] . μενα[

]ω : χαλ[

]μ οβολου[

## Fr. 3.

]εμε[

. . .

## Fr. 4.

]σει

. . .



	] εστιν αρπα[	Fr. 5.	Fr. 6.
5	] . σε δοραις [	. . .	. . .
	] . γαρ σειτ . [	] . λοτα[	] ποτω[
	] θελε[	. . .	. . .

Fr. 1. i. 2. τί λυσιτελει(ν) ἡμῖν ἀποφαίνεις τὰδικεῖν 409. 53, the letters *ειημι* being doubtfully read. *φ* of ἀποφαίνεις, which in the facsimile looks uncertain, is clear in the original; in the present passage, however, *φ* is unsuitable, and ἀποβαινεις seems to have been written. τί λυσιτελει[s] ἡμῖν; ἀπόβαιν' εἰς τὰδικεῖν would give a sense (cf. 409. 51-2 οὐκ ἄπει ἐκ τῆσ[δε γῆς]); but ἀποβαινεις is more likely to be a mistake for ἀποφαίνεις than vice versa.

6. Or ]ε κεινουμενω.

13. αισχει[ον .] might also be read.

ii. 7-8. The fragment containing the beginnings of these two lines was detached, and its exact distance from ll. 1-4 is not certain.

9. The marginal entry is probably the name of one of the speakers; the initial letter is perhaps β.

Fr. 2. 6. Apparently not γετο[ν].

Frs. 5-6. That these fragments belong to 1237 is hardly certain. In Fr. 5 there is a short blank space between the supposed λ and the preceding letter.

#### 1238-40. FRAGMENTS OF COMEDIES.

Three minor pieces from unidentified comedies, the two former in the style of the New Comedy, the last belonging to an older age, may be conveniently grouped together.

1238 is a fragment containing the beginnings of a few lines from the top of a column, written in round upright uncials of rather above the medium size, and evidently of an early date in the Roman period; they may be assigned to about the middle of the first century. Changes of speaker within a line are denoted by blank spaces within which the usual double dots are inserted, marginal paragraphi being also employed; and for the sake of greater clearness the names of the speakers have been added in small cursive letters, probably by a different and somewhat later hand, either in the margin or above the line. One of these names, Theron, is known as that of a parasite in a play of Menander from Aelian, *N. A.* ix. 7, and though this coincidence is of course insufficient to determine the authorship, a Menandrian origin for the present fragment is likely enough. Another of the *dramatis personae* was Malthace, a well-established name in comedy, and the initial letter of a third was apparently Π (l. 9).

1239. This is the right-hand portion of a short column of twenty-one lines (cf. note on l. 21), written in medium-sized sloping oval uncials of a common third-century type. *α* is sometimes practically indistinguishable from λ. High

and medial stops are used, the former occasionally taking the shape of a short oblique dash; a colon at the end of l. 14 indicates, as usual, a change of speaker. Rubbing and discoloration have in places effaced or obscured the text, but the general drift of the fragment, in spite of its mutilation, is tolerably clear. Lines 1 sqq. are a sententious discourse upon the advantages of independence: detachment is necessary for happiness; if a man laughs with friends he must also weep with them, and his life becomes exposed to constant change. This theme is then dismissed, and preparations follow for some festal occasion (l. 13). Here too the suggestion is natural that Menander was the author, but its confirmation is still to be found.

1240 consists of four fragments written in a small informal upright script dating probably from the first half of the second century. Names of speakers have been inserted in the margin in a sloping cursive, apparently by a different hand; to which writer the occasional accents and marks of elision in the text are due is questionable. Frs. 1-3 contain beginnings of lines, and it is quite likely that Fr. 1 and Fr. 3 should be joined, in which case there would be a loss of about nine lines between l. 5 and l. 11, and Fr. 2 may partially fill this gap. The indentation of some of the lines, which indicates variety in metre (cf. also Fr. 4, from the end of a line), as well as the participation of the Chorus in the dialogue (l. 11), point clearly to a comedian of the older school,\* and both Wilamowitz and Körte have suggested that *Μυρωνίδης* should be read in l. 1 and the fragments referred to the *Demes* of Eupolis, of which some substantial pieces have lately made their appearance in Cairo (cf. Körte, *Hermes*, xlvii. pp. 276 sqq.). This is an attractive hypothesis, but unfortunately the initial Π in l. 1 seems indubitable. It is not credible that the name was intentionally disguised by Eupolis, especially as the new fragments have shown that Myronides figured in the play as a dead, and not a living person (cf. Körte, *op. cit.*, p. 303). Possibly the Π is a mere blunder; but the name Πύρων is well attested, and *Πυρωνίδης* occurs in Lucian, *V. H.* i. 20. The proposed identification thus remains highly conjectural. The other character mentioned, an *οἰκέτης* (ll. 9, 15), gives no assistance towards a solution of the problem.

1238. 10.3 x 7.3 cm.

First century. Plate V.

μη ζηλοτυπων μ[  
Θηρω  
 ετερα παρουνσα : τ[  
 τουτι τετολμηκε[ν  
Μαλθ  
 πεισθεισα : εμοι π[

5 Μαλ<sup>θ</sup> κακος κακος απολ[οιτο  
 ταυτη λελ[α]ληκ αυ[θρωπος  
 τρ[υ]ν ανδρ· α[.]ειμεισ[  
 [. . .]ο παρε[χ]ετε το[  
 Π[ ]  
 [. . .]σιν [: οι]μωζε[  
 . . . . .

3. Οτ τετολμηκ ο[.]

4. The fourth letter of the speaker's name is most probably θ, not α. Since the next line is attributed to the same person, l. 4 was thrice divided.

6. αυ[θρωπος is suggested by W-M.

7. The stop is doubtful; if it is right, the next word may be e. g. α[π]ειμ' or α[γ]ει μ'.

1239. 16.5 × 10.1 cm.

Third century.

]ν· αλλ οστις ελαχιστην εχει  
 ] μεριδα μα[[ρ]]καριωτατος  
 ] ει δε συμβεβηκοτων  
 ]· ισεν ουδε εις ποτε·  
 5 τ]ους φιλους· κλαειν· γελαν  
 ]· επισ[υ]σαν ημεραν  
 ]·· τει μ[ε]ταβολην  
 ] πολλα βουλομενος λεγειν  
 ]ιλληνι·· λεγειν ορω·  
 10 ε]ισίων γ[υ]ν ενθαδε  
 ω]ν τις· ει δε την εμην  
 ]ρα· [. . . . .]θη  
 δευ]ρο τις σ]τ[ε]φ]ανους ταχυ  
 ]ρο··· [. . .]· φερει:  
 15 ]ιπρ[. . . . .] γε  
 ] σκυθ·· [. . .] εμε·  
 ]σ· οι τε· [. . .]οι·  
 ]σ· οι τε φιλοκαλοι·  
 ]· ατ· [

20  
 Νίκη μετ' ἑσθ' ἐμνήσθη·  
 Περθεύου

Νίκη μετ' ἑσθ' ἐμνήσθη·

2. The superfluous  $\rho$  was enclosed by dots on each side (that on the right lost), and a third was placed above.

9. If the letters are rightly read,  $\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\mu\iota\omicron\varsigma$  in some form, as Körte remarks, seems indicated;  $\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\mu\iota\omicron\nu$  is possible.

13. The line may be completed, as proposed by Körte,  $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma, \phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega \nu\bar{\nu}$ .

16.  $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\theta\rho\omega[\pi\omega\varsigma]$  naturally suggests itself, but though the papyrus is much damaged it is difficult to suppose that the tail of a  $\rho$  has entirely disappeared. On the other hand some case of  $\Sigma\kappa\upsilon\theta\eta\varsigma$ , e. g.  $\Sigma\kappa\upsilon\theta\omicron\nu$ , which would suit sufficiently well, is not very satisfactory here.

21. Below this line there is an interval of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cm. before the papyrus breaks off. If this was a complete column, it was abnormally short in comparison with its breadth, though an analogy may be found in P. Rylands 16, which, however, was a MS. of a much more sumptuous kind. But possibly l. 21 was the conclusion of an act, or even of the whole play.

1240. Fr. 1 15.8 x 6.5 cm.

Second century.

Fr. 1.

. . . . .  
[  
Πυρωνιδ[ης]  $\hat{\alpha}\rho$  ουχι φαν[ερον  
 $\hat{\eta}$  που μέγ' οί[  
ζη . [  
κοσμος . [  
5 [.] . [  
. . . . .

Fr. 2.

[ε]μβαινε παρ[  
κωμαζ' οποιω[  
[. . . . .] . ισ[  
. . . . .

Fr. 1.

10 ο]ικετης [  
]θαι του[  
. . . . .

Fr. 3.

Νο(ρος) εγω δε φιλ[  
και φιλ . . [  
και νυν . [  
το[  
15 οικ]ετη(s) φερ ιδω πλακ[ουντα

Fr. 4.

. . .  
 ]  
 ].  
 ] ἐξιοντας  
 ]  
 . . .

2. A circumflex has been substituted for an acute accent over  $\eta$ ; cf. 1174. ix. 12, note.

11. The marginal  $\chi\omicron(\rho\omicron\sigma)$  can hardly be doubted, though rather above and to the left of the  $\omicron$  there is a short vertical stroke which remains unexplained.

15.  $\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa[\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha$  W-M; the  $\alpha$  is followed by a vertical stroke which is sufficiently consistent with a  $\kappa$ .

## 1241. CHRESTOMATHY.

22 x 43.6 cm.

Second century.

Of the six consecutive columns remaining of this papyrus the four central ones, though damaged in parts, are in a state approaching completeness; the last is broken vertically, while of the first only the ends of a few lines are preserved. The script is a careful uncial, round and upright, rather similar to that of the British Museum Hyperides (fragments in Kenyon's *Palaeography*, Plate xvi), though more regular and ornamental and probably somewhat later in date; it may be referred to the first half of the second century. Other hands of much the same character are 220, P. Berl. 6845 *ap.* Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 19c. The few corrections which occur are due to the original scribe. Punctuation is effected by a high point, accompanied by marginal paragraphi; at the close of a section the paragraphus is replaced by a coronis. There is some variation in the length of the lines, and short ones have been sometimes, but by no means always, filled up with the usual angular mark. Diaeresis is frequent with an initial  $\iota$  or  $\upsilon$ ; a rough breathing apparently occurs in vi. 10. A diplē is placed in the margin opposite a line at v. 5, 24, vi. 25 (cf. 1233. Fr. 2. ii. 4, note, P. Rylands 55. 33, note), and double dots, one above the other, occur in a similar position at v. 4 (cf. 16, where the two dots are divided by a horizontal stroke).

The work here partially preserved is a treatise containing historical and mythological information collected in summaries and lists. In Col. i there were short catalogues of famous sculptors, statuaries, painters (ll. 1-5; cf. notes), and grammarians; Col. ii opens with an account of the Alexandrian librarians, and then at l. 21 warfare is abruptly introduced, and this subject is continued through the remainder of the fragment, ii. 21-iv. 10 recounting the persons, mostly

mythological, supposed to have been first responsible for various acts of war, while from iv. 10 onwards the inventors of different weapons are specified. The earlier part of the fragment recalls the Ptolemaic papyrus published by Diels under the title of *Laterculi Alexandrini* (*Abh. Berlin Akad.* 1904), and the second portion is closely analogous to the excerpts from the catalogues of inventors embedded in the writings of certain Greek and Latin authors of the Imperial period, e.g. Clement of Alexandria, Pliny, and Hyginus; cf. M. Kremmer, *De Catalogis Heurematum*. A rather marked similarity to a passage in Servius is noticeable at vi. 19-25; see the note *ad loc.* Though the name of the compiler is unknown, the class to which this treatise is to be referred is thus clear; it is a characteristic product of the Alexandrian erudition which exercised itself in antiquarian research and tabulation. Its age is fixed within well-defined limits, on the one hand by the historical allusions in Col. ii, on the other by the date of the papyrus; it must have been put together, if not towards the close of the Ptolemaic period, under one of the earlier Emperors.

The section dealing with warfare and weapons is, as might be expected, of no great importance, though it includes some mythological and historical details which are not without interest, besides occasional citations of older authorities; Hellanicus (v. 3), Philochorus (v. 6), and perhaps Aristotle (iii. 2) are named. But the most valuable part of the papyrus is the list of Alexandrian librarians in Col. ii, which at last determines the order of the holders of the office under the earlier Ptolemies, and supplies fresh evidence for the much-discussed chronology of Apollonius Rhodius. With him the list begins, the name of Zenodotus having of course preceded towards the end of Col. i. Apollonius, who is said to have been the tutor of Euergetes I (*πρώτον* in l. 5 must be a clerical error for *τρίτον*), was succeeded by Eratosthenes, and Aristophanes of Byzantium, Apollonius ὁ εἰδογράφος, and Aristarchus followed. After the death of Philometor occurred the dispersal of the Alexandrian scholars by Euergetes II (Athen. 184 c), and it is highly significant that the next name is that of a military officer, Cydas ἐκ τῶν λογχοφόρων, who is otherwise unknown. His mention leaves no room for doubt that it was a definite official position, i. e. the chief librarianship, of which the successive occupants are here enumerated, if this was not already sufficiently evident. Who the successor of Cydas was is not expressly stated; we are next told that under the 9th Ptolemy the grammarians Ammonius, Zenodotus, Diocles, and Apollodorus 'flourished', and the compiler thereupon turns to another topic.

While placing Apollonius Rhodius in the position indicated by his relations to Callimachus and Theocritus, the papyrus explains the mistake in the tradition which brings him down a generation or so later. Suidas describes him as

a contemporary of Eratosthenes and Timarchus, and the successor of the former at the Alexandrian library, and similarly the second Life of Apollonius (Westermann, *Biogr.* 50) records a tradition that he eventually returned from Rhodes to Alexandria and became librarian then. These statements may now be traced to the subsequent appointment of a second Apollonius, ὁ εἰδογράφος, and a confusion of this person with his more famous predecessor not improbably also underlies the hesitating report of Tzetzes, p. 200. 14 (cf. p. 207. 8) πρότερος δὲ ἦν Ζηνόδοτος, εἰ δὲ ἦ ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀρίσταρχος: if one Apollonius were counted, Aristarchus would be the fourth from Zenodotus, if two, the fifth. Apollonius Rhodius, therefore, must have been of nearly the same age as his reputed master Callimachus (cf. ii. 2-3, Gercke, *Rhein. Museum*, xlv. 252-3). That he was a learned grammarian as well as a poet was already ascertained. He may have become the teacher of Euergetes about 270 B. C.,—not earlier, since the marriage of Philadelphus and Arsinoë I did not occur before about 285 B. C. His retirement to Rhodes may then be placed, with Knaack (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*), about 260. But here we are confronted with a difficulty. It might naturally have been supposed that Callimachus filled the post vacated by his discomfited rival, whereas the papyrus asserts that the next holder of the librarianship was Eratosthenes, who according to Suidas owed his appointment to Euergetes, and in 260 B. C. was not more than about fifteen years old (ἐτέχθη δὲ ρκς Ὀλ.); the statement of Strabo (i. 15) that he was a pupil of Zeno of Citium would indeed imply a greater age. Wilamowitz suggests that the office remained in abeyance during the lifetime of Apollonius, but this can hardly be considered a satisfactory explanation. There was no interregnum after the retirement of Zenodotus, who, if he was succeeded by Apollonius before the latter's departure to Rhodes, and if, as Suidas says, he survived to be the teacher of Aristophanes of Byzantium, withdrew from his office many years before his death. Is it possible that after all the tradition is correct which represents Apollonius as having returned to Alexandria and become librarian comparatively late in life? If Zenodotus and Callimachus both died early in the reign of Euergetes, Apollonius might then have been recalled by his former pupil and have held the librarianship for some years immediately before Eratosthenes. It would then be unnecessary to assume that Zenodotus retired long before his decease, and the unexplained interval between Apollonius and Eratosthenes would disappear. Perhaps this may prove to be the easiest solution.

Col. i.

αγαλ]ματοποι

[οι . . . . . Φειδ]ιας Αθηναι

[ος ανδριαντοπ]οιοι δε

## THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

[Πολυκλειτος Πυθ]αγορας Σκο  
 5 [πας ζωγραφοι Πολυγ]νωτος  
 8 lines lost ?

]γ[ο]ς γραμ  
 15 [ματικο . . . . .]φιλος Ι  
 [. . . . . γρα]μματι  
 [κ . . . . . Φιλα]δελφου  
 . . . . .

## Col. ii.

ν[ι]ος Σιλλεως Αλεξανδρευσ  
 ο [κ]αλουμενος Ροδιος Καλ  
 λ[ι]μαχου γνωριμος ουτος  
 εγενετο και διδασκαλος του  
 5 π[ρ]ωτου βασιλεως τουτον  
 δ[ι]εδεξατο Ερατοσθειας  
 μεθ ον Αριστοφανης Απελ  
 λου Βυζαντιος και Αρισταρ  
 χος· ειτ Απολλωνιος Αλεξαν  
 10 δρευσ ο ιδογραφος καλουμε  
 νος· μεθ ον Αρισταρχος Αρι  
 σταρχου Αλεξανδρευσ ανω  
 θεν δε Σαμοθραξ· ουτος και  
 διδ[α]σκαλος [ε]γεγε[το] των  
 15 του Φιλοπατορος τεκνων·  
 μεθ ον Κυδας εκ των λογχο  
 φ[ο]ρων· επι δε τωι ενατω  
 [βα]σιλει ηκμασαν Αμμω  
 [νι]ος και Ζηνο[δοτος] και Διο  
 20 [κλ]ης και Απολλο[δ]ωρος γραμ  
 [μα]τικοι[·] στρατοπ[ε]δον πρω  
 [το]ν συστησασθα[ι] λεγεται Α  
 [σια]ς αφ ου και την [Α]σιαν φα  
 [σιν] προσαγορευεσθαι· στρα



- 25 [το]ν δ̄ εξαγαγεῖν Ἀπῖς ὁ Φο  
 [ρω]νεως ξυλοῖς και δερμα  
 [σι ο]πλισας τους μεθ̄ αυτου·  
 [πο]λεμον δ̄ ενφυλιον πρω  
 [τον] ἐξ̄ε[νε]γκειν λεγουσιν  
 30 [Αγη]ν[ο]ρα ποιμενα συναγα  
 [γο]ντα και Πελα[σ]γωι επι  
 [θεμ]εινον εκδιωξει τουτον·  
 [πολι]ν δε πορθη[σ]αι Ε[λ]ληνι  
 [δα] πρωτον Αμφ[ιτρω]να  
 35 [συν] Κεφαλωι τω[ι Αθην]αι  
 [ωι ]

## Col. iii.

- ους ειναι Ταφίους [της Κεφαλ  
 λημιας χωρας· Αρι[στοτελης  
 δε περι Πελληνη]ν φησι πρω  
 την̄ τουτο συμβεβ[η]κεναι  
 5 τινες δε ου μονον [εξανδρα  
 ποδισθηναι φασιν τ̄ην̄ Πελλη  
 νην ὑπο Κλεισθεν[ους] οτ̄ ε  
 στρατευσεν μετα Σικ[υωνι  
 ων̄ αλλα και τας̄ γυναι[κας̄ αυ  
 10 των̄ και τας̄ θυγατερα[ς̄ αιχμα  
 λωτισθεισας̄ κατα[πορνευθη  
 ναι· νεκρους̄ δ̄ υπο[σπονδους̄ α  
 ποδου]ναι λε[γουσιν̄ πρωτον  
 Ηρ[ακλεα . .] . [ . . . . . . . . . .  
 15 τ̄ . . [ . . . . . . . . . . των̄ ε  
 ναντ̄[ι]ων̄ φασι . [ . . . . . . . . . .  
 [ε]ξ̄αιτησασθαῑ π[ . . . . . . . . . .  
 [ . . . . . . . ] κα[τ]ᾱ . [ . . . . . . . . . .  
 π̄ . [ . . ]ντα . . . [ . . . . . . . . . .  
 20 [ . . ]ωτημα[ . ]ηλω̄ . [ . . . . . . . . . .

[. .] μόλις . . ξαι υπ[. . . . .  
 [. .]μησ . . σ . α . εσθα[ι . . .  
 [κ]ατα πολεμον . ειγ . . . . [.  
 [αν]ελεσθαι πρωτον Θησεα [  
 25 προς Θηβαιους οτε των ε  
 πτα επι Θηβας στρατευσαν  
 των και αταφων οντων τα  
 σωματα λαβων εθαψεν· φο  
 νον εμφυλιον πρωτος πε  
 30 ποιηκεναι λεγεται Αιτωλος  
 Απιν τον Ίους αποκτε[ι]νας  
 αγωνιζομενος προς αυτων  
 επι των Αζανος αθλων α  
 [Κ]ηφευς εθηκεν· τινες δε  
 35 Ίξιονα φ[ασ]ιν αρχηγον εμ  
 φυλιου φον[ο]ν γενεσθαι α

## Col. iv.

[ποκτει]ραντα Ηιονεα τον  
 [πενθερον ]  
 [εδικασε] δε τους εμφυλιους  
 [εν δικασ]τηριον ποιησας  
 5 [Φωρωνε]ς ο Ίναχον· αδελ  
 [φων δε π]ρωτον λεγουσιν γε  
 [νεσθαι φ]ρονους εν Θηβαις Ί  
 [σμηνο]ν και Κλααιτου των Ω  
 [κεανο]ν περι Μελιας της α  
 10 [δελφ]ης· οπλα δε πολεμικα  
 [κατ]ασκευασασθαι λεγουσιν  
 [οι] μεν Αρη· τινες δε Κυκλω  
 [πα]ς εν τω εν Ευβοιαι σπη  
 [λαι]ωι ο καλειται Τε[[κ]]χιον·  
 15 [οπ]λισαι δε πρωτον τευχε

- [σιν] Βριαρεων των πρωτε  
 [ρον] ανθρωπων δοραιο το σω  
 [μ]α σκεπαζοντων· ωσ δε τι  
 [ν]εσ ἴστορουσιν Αρη· αλλοι δε  
 20 [φασ]ιν οπλα πρωτον αρηία  
 [Εννα]λιον τον Διοσ εν Θραι  
 [κηι π]οιησαι ον υ[πο] Αλωε  
 [ωσ κα]ι των παιδω[ν δε]θη  
 [ναι Α]πολλωνα δε απ[οκ]τει  
 25 [να]ντα τουτους ρυσασθαι αυ  
 τον· ετεροι δε πρωτους μεν  
 χαλκα οπλα ενδυναι φασιν  
 ποιησαντας Κουρητας εν  
 Ευβοιαι καθοπλισαντασ  
 30 τους μεθ αυτ[ω]ν . . . τ . . . .  
 Κυμινδιν την . . . . . [·]ν  
 βασιλισσαν κ . . . . . νο[· . .]  
 αλλοι δ Αιγυπτι[ους λεγουσι]  
 οπλα τ επ ανθρωπ[ους ποιη]  
 35 σασθαι και δοραιο σκ[επασθηνα]ι  
 ετι δ ιματια ὑφ[η]ν[αι και ιστι]

## Col. v.

- α και ποδεωνα[ς κατασκευα  
 σαμενους πλευσ[αι σιδηρ]α δε  
 οπλα πρωτος Ελλ[α]ν[ι]κος κα  
 : τασκευασασθαι φησιν Σανεν  
 5 >νον Σκυθων οντα βα[σ]ιλε  
 α· Φ[ι]λοχορος δε καθοπλι  
 σιν γενεσθαι πρωτον λεγει  
 επι Κεκροπος δορυ και δερ  
 ματος αγριου περιβολην· ὑ  
 10 στερον δ οτ ηδη βοεσ εθυ  
 οντο βοεασ τους εν τη Ατ

τικη ποιησασθαι· ασπι-  
 / δα δε πρωτος λεγεται Δανα  
 ος εις Αργος κομισαι· ως δε  
 15 τινες ἱστορουσιν πρωτος  
 κατεσκευασατο Ακρισιος  
 εν Αργει πολεμησας προς  
 Προιτον τον αδελφον· αλλοι  
 δε φασιν ου τον Ακρισιον αλ  
 20 λα Προιτον ασπιδας εν Αρ  
 γει κατασκευασασθαι και ταυ  
 τας ξυλινας· οι δε χαλκην α  
 σπιδα πρωτον ποιησασθαι  
 > Πυρριν Θερμαιου Κρητα οι  
 25 κουντα εν Οφιουσση νησω·  
 τουτον δε και την ενοπλι  
 ον ορχησιν το[υ]ς Ετρεοκρητας  
 διδαξαι [τα]ις ασπισιν οχα  
 να και ε[τερ] οπλα Καρας λε  
 30 γεται καταδειξαι· ως δε τι >  
 νες ἱστορουσιν προτερον τας  
 ασπιδας πε[ρ]ι τους ωμους πε  
 ρ[ι]βαλλομενων Αργειοι πρω  
 τοι πορπακα[s] και οχεις περι  
 35 θεντες εις τ[ην] αριστ[ε]ραν πε  
 ριεθεντο· του[. . . . .]πο[. . . . .]

Col. vi.

[. .]ν οτ επ[ι. . . . .] εστρα(?)  
 [τ]ενον το[. . . . .]  
 [. .]ησαμε[ν. . . . .] παρ  
 / [μ]ην υπ Ιλλ[υ]ριων . . . . .  
 5 [. .]ησθαι· θυρ[ε]ον . . . . .  
 των δημα .[. . . . .] Σα  
 / μοθραικης σ[α]λπιδας δε

πρωτους φησι[ν κατασκευα  
 σασθαι Τυρρην[ους] . . . . .  
 10 Τυρρηνου [· . . . . .  
 Αρδηλου [· . . . . . Αρ  
 δηλον [· . . . . .  
 Αρεως [· . . . . .  
 προβολ[· . . . . . δι  
 15 δασκαλο[· των] . . . . .  
 νων· ετε[ροι] δε λεγου  
 σι δη οπλ[α] . . . . .  
 την δε καλ[ου]μενην πελτην  
 ὑπο Θραικω[ν] ευρησθαι ξιφος  
 20 δε πρωτον κα[τασκευασασθαι]  
 φασιν Λυκαονα [τον Πελα  
 σγον· το δε ξιφοδ[ρεπανον] ο  
 δη τινες καλο[υσιν] αρπην  
 Περσεα [τ]ον Διος ε[τεροι]  
 25 > δε Πηλεα τον Αι[ακου]  
 μαχαιραν δε επ Αμειν[ιαν]  
 α[·] . . . [  
 5 lines lost.  
 Χ[  
 φα[

i. 1-4. Restored by W-M; cf. Diels, *Laterculi Alex.* vii. 3-9, where Pheidias, Praxiteles, and Scopas are grouped together as ἀγαλματοποιοί, and Myron, Lysippus, Polycleitus, and Phrymachus follow as ἀνδριαντοποιοί.

5. Cf. *Laterculi Alex.* l. c., where the ζωγράφοι come next before the ἀγαλματοποιοί, and Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 205, Quintil. xii. 10. 3.

14-17. There can be little doubt that this fragment belongs to Col. i, but its exact position is hardly certain. The place assigned to it is suggested chiefly by a dark fibre passing below l. 14 and continued in the margin of Col. ii.

ii. 1-20. ' . . . Apollonius son of Silleus, of Alexandria, called the Rhodian, the disciple of Callimachus; he was also the teacher of the third king. He was succeeded by Eratosthenes, after whom came Aristophanes son of Apelles of Byzantium, then Apollonius of Alexandria the so-called Classifier, and after him Aristarchus son of Aristarchus, of

Alexandria, but originally of Samothrace; he became also the teacher of the children of Philometor. He was followed by Cydas, of the spearmen; and under the ninth king there flourished Ammonius, Zenodotus, Diocles, and Apollodorus the grammarians.'

1. The name of the father of Apollonius is given both as Σιλλεύς and Ἰλλεύς; cf. *Vit.* 1 and 2 (Westermann, *Biogr.* 50, Keil Schol. Apoll. Rhod. p. 532). Suidas, like the papyrus, gives only Σιλλεύς.

2-3. Καλλ[ι]μαχου γνωριμος: cf. *Vit.* 1 Καλλιμάχου μαθητής (so Suidas), *Vit.* 2 ἐμαθήτευσε Καλλιμάχῳ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, and introd., p. 101.

5. πρωτου is an obvious mistake for τριτου, i. e. Euergetes I.

8. και Αρισταρχος is doubtless an interpolation, since Aristarchus recurs with a full description in ll. 11-15.

9-10. Cf. *Etym. Magn.* 295, 52 Ἀπολλών(ιος) εἰδογράφος, ἐπειδὴ εὐφυνῆς ὦν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τὰ εἶδη τοῖς εἶδεσιν ἐπένειμεν, Schol. Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. init.

15. Φιλοπατορος is an error either for Επιφανους or Φιλομητορος; cf. Athen. 71 b Πτολεμαῖος δ' Εὐεργέτης βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου, εἰς ὧν τῶν Ἀριστάρχου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ μαθητῶν, and Suidas, s. v. Ἀριστάρχος: γέγονε δὲ . . . ἐπὶ Πτολ. τοῦ Φιλομήτορος, οὗ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν (sc. Εὐπάτορα) ἐπαίδευσεν. Φιλομητορος is palaeographically the easier correction. Επιφανους will better suit the plural τεκνων, for it is likely enough, as Busch, *De bibliothecariis Alex.*, p. 53, has argued, that Aristarchus taught Philometor as well as his brother Euergetes.

16. We have not found another instance of the use of λογχοφόρος as a military technical term in Egypt.

17-18. του ενατου βασιλεως is expected; moreover Euergetes II, if he is here meant, is usually called the seventh or eighth Ptolemy.

19. Ζηνο[δοτος]: or possibly Ζηνο[δωρος], the author of ten books Περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου συνηθείας, to whom H. Schrader would assign also other works mentioned by Suidas, s. v. Ζηνόδοτος Ἀλεξανδρεύς. If Ζηνο[δοτος] is rightly restored, either Z. of Mallus, ὁ Κρατήτειος (so W-M), or Z. of Alexandria, may be supposed to be meant,—if indeed these two grammarians are to be distinguished; cf. Susemihl, *Alex. Litt.-Gesch.* ii, pp. 14-15, 192-3, 711.

Διοκλῆς: this may be the grammarian cited in Schol. A on N 103, Schol. BT on X 208, Schol. ξ 132, τ 457; whether Δ. ὁ γραμματικός mentioned in Artemid. *Oneir.* iv. 70 is the same person is doubtful. There would not be room for Διο[γεν]ῆς.

20. Apollodorus of Athens was, like Ammonius (l. 18), a disciple of Aristarchus.

21-iii. 14. 'The first man to establish a camp is said to have been Asia, after whom Asia is supposed to be called; while Apis son of Phoroneus is said to have led forth an army, arming his followers with clubs and hides. Intestine war was first begun, it is said, by Agenor, who collected some shepherds together, and, attacking Pelasgus drove him out. A Hellenic city was first sacked by Amphitryon with Cephalus of Athens, (their foes) being Taphians of Cephallenia; Aristotle however states that this first happened at Pellene, and some say that not only was Pellene enslaved by Cleisthenes when he marched against it with the Sicyonians, but that the captive wives and daughters were reduced to prostitution. The first to restore the slain under a truce is said to have been Heracles . . .'

22-4. Cf. *Hdt.* iv. 45 τούτου μὲν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Λυδοί, φάμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀσίῳ τοῦ Κότυος τοῦ Μάνεω κεκλήσθαι τὴν Ἀσίην. The attribution of the first στρατόπεδον to Asia is apparently novel. In l. 24 the stop is not certain.

24-7. According to Apollod. ii. 1. 1 Apis was a βίαιος τύραννος, who was conspired against by Thelxion and Telchin.

The second ε of ἐξαγαγεῖν seems to have been corrected from ι, and the ν also shows signs of alteration.

\*30-1. 1. *ποιμενας*. Agenor and Pelasgus were brothers according to Schol. Eurip. *Orest.* 920 and Hellanicus *ap.* Eustath. Γ 75. Their conflict is apparently not elsewhere recorded.

33-iii. 2. For the expedition of Amphitryon and Cephalus against the Taphians cf. Apollod. ii. 4. 7, Strabo 456, &c. The construction of the sentence is harsh, and probably something has dropped out. At the end of l. 35 *Δημονος* cannot be read, and the remains suggest ]αι rather than ]οι; moreover there would hardly be room for τω[ι Αθηναί]οι. We have therefore supposed that there was an incomplete line at the bottom of the column; cf. iv. 2, where a similar blank occurs. This view may be supported by two considerations, (1) the awkwardness of *ους ειναι Ταφίους*, which must refer back to {πολι]ν, and (2) the fact that ii. 35 ranges with iii. 35, not iii. 36. Perhaps something like (τούτων δὲ τοὺς πολέμ)ους stood in the original. Ε[λ]ληνι[δα], which is doubtless right, was recognized by W-M.

iii. 2. The name of the authority cited unfortunately remains doubtful. A name beginning with Ari- is probable, but the letter before the lacuna may also be γ, κ, ν, or possibly another ρ. η and π are unsuitable. Ἀρι[στοτέλης] is a probable restoration (cf. e. g. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 16. 77, Schol. Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 127, Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 195, 197, &c.), especially as Aristotle wrote a treatise on the constitution of Pellene.

3-8. Cf. Zenob. i. 57 in the version of MS. Bodleianus 207 Ἀπελλαῖοι περισθώντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Κλεισθέην πολέμου κτλ., where W-M had rightly emended Ἀπελλαῖοι τοὺς Ἑλληναῖοι (*Hermes*, xliv. 474).

11. κατα[προνευθη]ναι was restored by W-M.

14. Ηρ[ακλεα] W-M, comparing Plutarch, *Thes.* 29 ὅτι δὲ Ἑρακλῆς πρῶτος ἀνέδωκε νεκρῶς τοῖς πολέμοις ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἑρακλέους γέγραπται.

22-iv. 9. 'The first to recover the slain in war was Theseus in the affair with the Thebans, when he received and buried the bodies of the Seven who had marched against Thebes and remained unburied. The first to shed kindred blood is said to have been Aetolus, who killed Apis son of Io when competing against him at the games celebrated by Cepheus in honour of Azan; but some say that the original shedder of kindred blood was Ixion, who killed his father-in-law Eioneus. A trial for murder of kindred was held by Phoroneus son of Inachus, who constituted a single court. It is said that the first murder of brothers took place at Thebes when Ismenus and Caantus the sons of Oceanus fought on account of their sister Melia.'

22-8. Cf. Plutarch, *Thes.* 29 συνέπραξε δὲ (sc. ὁ Θησεὺς) καὶ Ἀδράστῳ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ πεσόντων, οὐχ ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ, μάχῃ τῶν Θηβαίων κρητήσας (so too Apollod. iii. 7. 1), ἀλλὰ πείσας καὶ σπεισάμενος· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι· Φιλόχορος δὲ καὶ σπονδὰς περὶ νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσεως γενέσθαι πρῶτας ἐκείνας.

The arrangement of the beginning of the sentence is doubtful. δε νεκρῶς can certainly not be read at the end of l. 23, nor is κειμενῶς satisfactory, the fourth letter after πολέμου being apparently ν not μ. εσθα[ι] δε . . . καὶ νεκρο[υ]ς also suggests itself, but this again is, to say the least, unconvincing, and the verb in l. 22 was at any rate not σπείσασθαι.

28-34. Cf. Pausan. v. 1. 8 Ἄπιν γὰρ τὸν Ἰάσονος . . . ἀπέκτεινεν Αἰτωλὸς ἐπελάσας τὸ ἄρμα τεθέντων ἐπὶ Ἀζάνι ἄθλων, viii. 4. 5 ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀζάνος τοῦ Ἀρκάδος τελευτήσαντι ἄθλα ἐτέθη πρῶτον, Schol. Pindar, *Ol.* iii. 19. The name of the person who instituted the games is not given in these passages; W-M's restoration of [κ]ηφεύς is plausible, though that personage does not seem to have occurred elsewhere in connexion with the story of Azan. That Apis is described in l. 31 as the son of Io is no doubt to be traced to the Greek identification of the Egyptian Apis with Epaphus (cf. Hdt. ii. 153).

34. τινες δε: e. g. Pherecydes *ap.* Schol. Apollon. Rhod. iii. 62, Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 31-2.

iv. 3-9. The restoration is largely due to W-M. In ll. 3-4 a satisfactory sense is obtained by the supplements adopted, though possibly the blank in the previous line points to some dislocation; cf. ii. 35 and note *ad loc.* For Phoroneus as *κριτής* cf. Pausan. ii. 15. 5, where he is represented as having been the arbiter in a dispute between Poseidon and Hera. Here he seems to figure as the founder of the Argive tribunal for homicide.

7. It seems clear that *φορῶν* stood in the papyrus. *Κλαίτων* is a corruption of *Κααντων* or *Καανθων*, for whom cf. Pausan. x. 9. 5. According to the Theban story there given, Caanthus was slain when seeking to recover his sister Melia from Apollo; the version of the papyrus apparently eliminated the god and represented Caanthus and Ismenus as having engaged in a fratricidal combat.

10-v. 35. 'Weapons of war according to some were constructed by Ares, according to others by the Cyclopes in the cave in Euboea called Teuchion; and the first person to employ armour, it is said, was Briareos, while previously men protected their bodies with skins; some, however, state that Ares was the first. Others say that weapons were first made in Thrace by Enyalios son of Zeus, who was bound by Aloeus and his sons and rescued by Apollo, who killed them. According to others weapons of bronze were first made and worn by the Curetes in Euboea, who equipped their followers and [attacked] Cymindis queen of [the Chalcideans?]. Others again say that the Egyptians made offensive armour and protected themselves with skins and also wove garments and constructed sails and sheets and so navigated. Hellanicus says that Saneunos king of Scythia first constructed weapons of iron, while Philochorus states that arms were first made in the time of Cecrops and consisted of a spear and a covering fashioned of the skin of wild beasts, but afterwards when oxen came to be sacrificed the inhabitants of Attica made shields of ox-hide. Shields are said to have been first brought by Danaus to Argos; but according to the account of some Acrisius first constructed them at Argos when he fought against his brother Proetus, while according to others it was not Acrisius but Proetus who constructed shields at Argos, and these of wood; others state that a bronze shield was first made by Pyrrhis (?) son of Thermaeus, a Cretan living in the island of Ophiussa, and that it was he who taught the Eteocretes the war-dance. Handles for shields, and other implements, are said to have been introduced by the Carians; some, however, narrate that whereas formerly men had hung their shields on their shoulders, the Argives first supplied them with loops and bars and put them on the left arm.'

12-18. Cf. Schol. A Homer, K 439 *εἰρήσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ (sc. τὰ τεύχεα) Ἴστρος φησὶ παρὰ τὸ ἐν Τευχίῳ τῷ Εἰβοϊκῷ κατασκευάσθαι πρῶτον ὑπὸ Κυκλώπων*, Eustath. 817. 21 *καινότερον δὲ πῶς ὁ Ἴστρος παράγει. φησὶ γὰρ τὰ πολεμικὰ τεύχη οὕτω κληθῆναι ὑπὸ Τευχίου, Εἰβοϊκοῦ τύπου, ἐν ᾧ, φησί, κατασκευάσθησαν ὑπὸ Κυκλώπων*. Istrus, then, is presumably our author's source for this statement about the Euboean Cyclopes. In connexion with the reference of the Cyclopes and Briareos to Euboea W-M notes that in Hesych. s.v. *Τιτανίδα* Euboea figures as the daughter of Briareos. Briareos is included among the Cyclopes in Schol. Theocr. i. 65. The latter frequently appear as metal-workers in association with Hephaestus in ancient works of art; cf. also e.g. Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 197 *aerariam fabricam alii Chalybas alii Cyclopas (monstrasse putant) . . . fabricam ferream invenerere Cyclopes*, Apollod. i. 2. 1, Tatian, *Ad Gr.* 1.  $\chi$  of *τευχιον* seems to have been altered as well as the  $\kappa$ ; probably *τεκλιον* was first written.

19-25. The suggestion of W-M that the story of the imprisonment of Ares by the Aloadae was in this passage transferred to Enyalios was confirmed by a subsequent decipherment of the latter half of l. 22; the correctness of this reading, in spite of the scantiness of the remains, can hardly be doubted. Since Enyalios is here in accordance with



the later mythology differentiated from Ares, it is curious that he is still described as the son of Zeus; elsewhere he appears as the son of Ares or of Cronus (Schol. Aristoph. *Peace* 456, Eustath. 944. 55, Hesych. s. v.). εν Θρα[κῆ] is in accordance with the apparently Thracian origin of the myth of the Aloadae; cf. Eustath. 673. 50, where a Thracian Enyalios is said to have been killed by Ares. In l. 23 the obvious δε]θῆναι hardly fills the space, and some other verb may have been used.

26-32. For the Euboean Curetes as the first to employ bronze armour cf. Steph. Byz., s. v. Ἀΐδηψος, Ἐπαφρόδιτος δὲ μαρτυρεῖ ἐκεῖ χαλκῶν πρῶτον εὐρεθῆναι καὶ πρῶτον χαλκῶν ἐκεῖ ἐνεδύσαντο οἱ Κούρητες, Strabo 472 ἐκείνους δὲ (sc. τοὺς Κ.) Κρήτας, περιθέσθαι δ' ὄπλα χαλκᾶ πρώτους ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, Servius, *Aen.* ix. 503 *scuta aerea gestare Curetes primi invenerunt*.

The name Κύμνιδις, which was recognized in l. 31 by W-M, is apparently a variant of Κόμβη, a word probably derived from the same root. According to Diodor. iv. 72, Steph. Byz. s. v. Χαλκίς, Zenob. vi. 50, &c., Κόμβη was also called Χαλκίς, and χαλκίς = κύμνιδις according to Homer, Ξ 291 χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμνιδιν; cf. Schol. T *ad loc.* οἱ δὲ τὴν μητέρα τῶν Κορυβάντων Χαλκίδα φασίν. Though the general sense of the passage is clear, the wording of ll. 29-32, which are in parts almost effaced, remains doubtful; something like τοὺς μεθ' αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς Κ. τὴν Χαλκιδεῶν βασιλίσσαν παλεμησαντας is expected. καὶ πρὸς is not impossible, the supposed τ being perhaps part of a π; but in l. 31 it is difficult to reconcile the vestiges with Χαλκιδεῶν, and in l. 29 it is not certain that one or two letters, e. g. δε, did not follow καθοπισσαντας.

33-5. Cf. Hdt. iv. 180 ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος φημί ἀπῆχθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. According to Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 200 *proelium Afri contra Aegyptios primi fecere fustibus quos vocant phalangas*; cf. Hygin. 274. 29. ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων is not very satisfactory; ο might be read instead of the θ, and the succeeding letters are quite doubtful. In l. 35 σκ[επασθηα] is a rather long supplement for the lacuna.

36-v. 2. Line 36 was restored by W-M. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. xvi. 76 ἐπὶ τε Σεμράμειος (sic) βασιλέως Αἰγυπτίων τὰ βύσσιννα ἱμάτια εὐρήσθαι ἱστοροῦσιν, Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 196 *Aegyptii textilia*, Martian. Cap. ii. 158 *Isis in Aegypto lini usum . . . monstravit*, and for the Egyptian origin of sails, Hygin. 277. 37 *velificia prima invenit Isis*, Cassiod. *Var.* v. 7 *hoc velum Isis rati prima suspendit*.

v. 2-5. Since bronze arms have already been dealt with and Scythian is a familiar epithet of iron (e. g. Aesch. *Theb.* 817) W-M's σιδῆρ]α is attractive, though the space is somewhat narrow. χαλκ]ᾶ, however (cf. e. g. Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 197 *aes conflare et temperare Aristoteles Lydum Scytham monstrasse*), would be no improvement in this respect. Saneunos in l. 4 is otherwise unknown.

12-13. Cf. the note on iv. 33-5.

15-22. Cf. Apollod. ii. 2. 1 Ἀκρίσιος καὶ Προῖτος . . . πολεμοῦντες εὐρον ἀσπίδας πρώτοι (so Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 200), Schol. Eurip. *Or.* 965 φασὶ δὲ ὅτι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ (of P. and A.) πρῶτον ξυλίνας ἀσπίσιν ἐχρήσαντο Ἀργεῖοι.

22-8. Πυρρῶν is presumably a misspelling of Πυρρίχων, but the patronymic Θερμαῖον is novel and also the connexion with Ophiussa, which will be the island in the neighbourhood of Crete mentioned by Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 61. According to Nicol. Damasc. *ap. Stob. Flor.* xlv. 41, Pyrrichus was a native of Cydonia. For his invention of the war-dance see e. g. Ephorus *ap. Strabo* 480 ἐνοπλίῳ ὀρχήσει ἣν καταδείξει Κουρήτα πρῶτον, ἕσπερον δὲ καὶ (Πύρριχον τὸν?) συντάξαντα τὴν κληθείσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πυρρίχην, Schol. Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 127, Eustath. 771. 49 sqq. Others derived the πυρρίχη from Pyrrhus, e. g. Etym. Magn. 699. 1, Lucian, *De salt.* 9.

28-36. Cf. Hdt. i. 171 ὄχανα οὐτοί εἰσι (sc. οἱ Κᾶρες) οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι τῶς δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες . . . περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὤμοισι περικείμενοι, Schol. A Homer, Θ 193. In l. 29 ε[τερ]οπλα is not very satisfactory, some specific device

corresponding with  $\delta\chi\alpha\nu\alpha$  being rather expected; moreover, there is barely room for the three letters in the lacuna. The first letter was, however, certainly either  $\epsilon$  or  $\theta$ , and the  $\omicron$  is fairly secure, the only possible alternative being  $\omega$ . In l. 31  $\tau\omega\nu$  is wanted before  $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ . The last few lines of this column are disfigured by extraneous marks which have made  $\pi$  in l. 32 look like  $\tau\epsilon\sigma$ .

vi. 3-4. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 16. 75  $\delta\mu\omicron\iota\omega\varsigma$  δὲ καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ τὴν καλουμένην  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\eta\nu$  (so W-M for  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\eta\nu$ )  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$ .

5-6.  $\theta\nu\rho[\epsilon\omicron\nu]$  (W-M) looks probable, but it remains to find in other sources a connexion with Samothrace. According to Clem. Alex. l.c. the  $\theta\nu\rho\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  was the invention of the Samnite Itanus; cf. Athen. 273 f. In l. 6  $\alpha$  of  $\delta\eta\mu\alpha$  . [ is written over an  $\omicron$ .

7.  $\sigma[\alpha\lambda\pi\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\varsigma]$  is the obvious restoration (cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 568, Diod. v. 40, Athen. 184 a, Pausan. ii. 21. 3, Schol. T Homer,  $\Sigma$  219, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 16. 74, &c.), though this invention comes in somewhat awkwardly at the present point. In l. 10 the rough breathing can hardly be evaded; an overwritten  $\epsilon$  is inadmissible.

11.  $\text{Ἀρδῆλος}$  is apparently not otherwise attested. He cannot be identified with  $\text{Ἄρδαλος}$  son of Hephaestus, the discoverer of the flute, in whose name, as W-M remarks, the  $\alpha$  is certainly short.

18-19. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 16. 75  $\Theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$  πρῶτοι τὴν καλουμένην  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\eta\nu$   $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$  δὲ  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\iota\rho\alpha$   $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$ ) καὶ πρῶτοι  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$  ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἐχρήσαντο, Eurip. *Alc.* 498  $\Theta\rho\eta\kappa\iota\alpha\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\eta\varsigma$ , Hdt. vii. 75, Dion. Hal. *A. R.* ii. 70.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\eta\nu$  is wanted in l. 23 below and so cannot be restored here.

19-25. Cf. Servius, *Aen.* ix. 503 *Lycaon Arcas gladium longiore lamina produxisse narratur. Pelcus primus machaeram dicitur invenisse. harpen, id est curvum gladium in modum falcis, a Perseo inventam multi dixerunt.* The similarity of this passage to the papyrus suggests a common source. For  $\xi\iota\phi\omicron\delta\rho\epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$  cf. Hesych.  $\xi\iota\phi\omicron\delta$ . ἡ λεγομένη  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\eta$ , and for the  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\eta$  of Perseus, with which he is commonly represented, cf. Pherecyd. 26 and Apollod. ii. 4. 2, who says that it was given him by Hermes.

26. If  $\text{Ἀμεινίαν}$  is right there was a reference here to the legend of Narcissus, who according to the account of Conon c. 24 sent a sword to the disdained lover Ameinias. The letters  $\alpha\mu$ , though imperfect, are very probable, and the slight vestige of the final letter suits  $\nu$  sufficiently well.

## 1242. GREEKS AND JEWS BEFORE TRAJAN.

15.8 × 53.9 cm.

Early third century.

This interesting and instructive text, describing an audience by the Emperor Trajan of rival Greek and Jewish emissaries from Alexandria, is another fragment of the Alexandrian anti-Semitic and 'nationalist' literature, of which several specimens have already made their appearance. Those published prior to 1909 have been conveniently put together and studied anew by Wilcken in *Abhandl. d. phil.-hist. Kl. d. k. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* xxvii. 23; a recent addition is 1089, which is probably to be referred to the same class. To one member of the extant group 1242 stands in an especially close relation. In P. Par. 68 + Brit. Mus. I (i, p. 229), of whose contents B. G. U. 341 is a second recension (Wilcken, *op. cit.*, pp. 807-22), a chief part is played by a certain Paulus, and another speaker is Theon; these two names recur in 1242, and Paulus is described as the

professional advocate on the Alexandrian side. Nevertheless P. Par. 68, &c., and the present papyrus cannot refer to the same occasion. In the former, as the references to the Dacian war (i. 13), to the praefect Lupus (i. 5, iv. 3), and to hostilities in Egypt (πόλεμος, ii. 3-6) and a Jewish 'king' (i. 5-6) show, the date must be subsequent to the great Jewish outbreak which began in Egypt and Cyrene in A. D. 115. In his first discussion in *Hermes*, xxvii. 464 sqq., Wilcken supposed that the proceedings in question took place before Trajan at Antioch shortly before his death; but subsequently he adopted the more probable view of T. Reinach that the Emperor concerned was Hadrian. In 1242, on the other hand, not only is the Emperor expressly named as Trajan, but the scene is Rome, to which city Trajan did not return after his departure to the east in A. D. 114. The proceedings here described are therefore prior to that event, and thus necessarily prior also to those of P. Par. 68, &c. That the *personnel* of these two Alexandrian missions was to some extent identical is no cause for surprise, if they were dispatched within the space of a few years. If in the meantime there had been a change of Emperor, there would perhaps have been the less reason for an entire change of envoys. In what circumstances the present mission originated is unknown; it is clear, however, from the Emperor's language in ll. 35-7 that hostility to the Jews at Alexandria had assumed an active form.

Parts of four consecutive columns remain, the first three in good preservation so far as they go; but the tops of the columns are lost throughout, and the number of lines thus missing cannot be determined. This loss is the more unfortunate because it is clear from the broad blank space (7 cm.) in front of Col. i that that column was the first of the roll, and its opening sentences would have been of particular interest. As it now stands, the papyrus commences with an account of the members of the Alexandrian mission, the names of eleven persons remaining, including two gymnasiarchs, a gymnasiarch-elect, and a distinguished ex-official, besides Paulus, who had volunteered his services as advocate for the party. The Jewish mission, which was appointed as a counterweight to that of their rivals, consisted of seven persons only—a number perhaps selected on account of its mystical associations. The two parties then set out, each carrying with them, it is surprising to read, 'their own gods' (i. 17-18; cf. the note *ad loc.*); and they arrived at Rome at the beginning of spring. A place was appointed for the audience, and meanwhile, we are told, the Empress Plotina displayed an active sympathy with the Jewish cause, and under her influence Trajan adopted at the outset an anti-Alexandrian attitude. The next column reports an exciting dialogue between the Emperor and Hermaiscus, a man of high birth (ll. 44-5), whose name does not occur among those of the Alexandrian envoys preserved in Col. i but presumably preceded.

He boldly accuses the Emperor of Jewish bias; sweat is seen to break out on the image of Sarapis carried by the Alexandrians; and for a time panic and confusion reign. Here the papyrus fails; from the scanty remains of the next column little can be extracted beyond a mention of the Emperor Claudius, where it is natural to see a reference to the earlier Alexandrian mission of which a partial account is preserved in B. G. U. 511 and P. Cairo 10448 (Wilcken, *op. cit.*, pp. 800-6).

The literary character which has come to be recognized in documents of this class is in this latest example especially evident. In the account of the preliminaries to the hearing, the formal phrases which must have stood in the original account of the proceedings are entirely dropped; details concerning place, time, and the council in attendance upon the Emperor disappear, and from a bare statement that a place was fixed the writer proceeds at once to a picturesque description of the entry of the envoys. 1242 here differs widely from B. G. U. 511, where the protocol-form is maintained; nevertheless the third person is still used and not, as in P. Par. 68. i. 8-10, the first. Similarly in the pro-Jewish activity attributed to the Empress and the introduction of the portent at the end of Col. iii, the hand of the artistic redactor is unmistakable, as well as the party bias with which he wrote. It may, however, still be maintained that, as Wilcken holds, though manipulated for political purposes, the basis of this literature was the authentic official records.

The text was written on the verso of the papyrus in an upright, semi-cursive hand, probably near the beginning of the third century. Some corrections have been introduced by the copyist into his work, but inaccuracies and corruptions remain. A high stop is occasionally employed.  $\nu$  at the end of the line sometimes takes the form of a horizontal stroke above the preceding vowel. A comma-like mark is inserted between two gutturals in l. 35. On the recto are parts of three columns, numbered 34-6, in second-century cursive, containing copies of contracts of lease; a date in the reign of Antoninus is mentioned in Col. 1.

## Col. i.

. . . . .  
 . [            22 letters            ]β[.]ρ[.]· [ ]  
 ξ[            21    ,,            ]μοσ[.]· ν-  
 σμεν[. . . . .]α . [ . . Διον]ύσιος ὁ ἐν  
 πολλαῖς ἐ[πιτρο]παῖς γεν[ό]μενος καὶ  
 5 Σαλούιος, Ἰού[λι]ος Σαλούιος, Τειμαγένης,

Πάστωρ γυμνασίαρχος, Ἰούλιος Φανίας,  
 Φιλόξενος ἀ[π]οδειγμένος γυμνασίαρ-  
 χος, Σωτίων γυμνασίαρχος, Θέων,  
 Ἀθηνόδωρος, Παῦλος Τύριος τῷ γένει  
 10 αὐθαίρετος συνήγορος ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρέων. ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ Ἰουδαίου  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ ἰδίου ἔθνους προχιρίζου-  
 νται πρέσβεις, χειροτονοῦνται δὲ Σίμων,  
 Γλαύκων, Θεύδης, Ὀνίας, Κόλων, Ἰάκουμ-  
 15 βος καὶ Σώπατρος Ἀντιοχεὺς τῷ γένει  
 συνήγορος ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων. ἀνάγον-  
 ται μὲν οὖν τῆς πόλεως ἕκαστοι βαστά-  
 ζοντες τοὺς ἰδίους θεοὺς, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς

5. σαλουῖος ἰου[λι]ος σαλουῖος Pap. 6. ἰουλιος Pap. 8. A high point after  
 χος at the beginning of the line may be accidental. 10. ai of αυθαιρετος written above ε,  
 which is crossed through. ὑπερ Pap.; so in l. 16. 11. ἰουδαιου Pap.; so *passim*.  
 l. Ἰουδαῖοι. 12. ἴδιου Pap.; so in l. 18. 13. χ of χειροτονουνται corr. 14. ἰακουμβος  
 Pap. 16. συνήγορος Pap., perhaps unintentionally; but cf. e. g. B. G. U. 511. ii. 1.

## Col. ii.

. . . . .  
 [. . . . .]ρ[. . . . .]τ[. . . . .]. [. . . . .]  
 20 [. . . . .]ισ . . [. . . . .]. [. . .]δω[. . .]συν[  
 [. . . . .]. [. . .]. ο[. . .]ν . [. . .] μεταδίδωσ[ι] τοῖς σὺν [  
 αὐτοῖς λό[γο]ν, καὶ λήξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος  
 ὀρμίζοντ[αι εἰ]ς τὴν Ῥώμην. ἔμαθεν ὁ Αὐτοκρά-  
 τωρ ὅτι πάρε[ισι] πρέσβεις Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀλεξαν-  
 25 δρέων κα[ὶ ἐ]τάξαντο τὴν χώραν τε ἀμφοτέρων  
 ἀκούσεται. [ῆ] δὲ Πλωτεῖνα ἀπαντᾷ τοὺς συνκλη-  
 τικοῦ[ς] π[α]ραγενέσθαι κατὰ Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ  
 τοῖς Ἰουδ[α]ίοις βοηθῆσαι. καὶ πρῶτοι εἰσελθόν-  
 30 τες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀσπάζονται τὸν Αὐτοκρά-  
 τωρα Τραιανόν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ εὐμενέστατα αὐ-  
 τοὺς ἡσπ[ά]σατο καὶ αὐτός, ἥδη προπεπισμέ-  
 νος ὑπὸ [τ]ῆς Πλωτείνης. μετ' αὐτοὺς εἰσέρ-

χονται Ἀ[λ]εξανδρέων πρέσβεις καὶ ἀσπά-  
 ζοντε τ[ὸ]ν Ἀυτοκράτορα, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀπηντή-  
 35 σατο ἀλλ' [εἶ]πεν Χαιρετίζετε με ὡς ἄξιοι τυγ-  
 χάνοντ[ες] τοῦ χαίρειν, τοιαῦτα χαλεπὰ τολ-  
 μήσαντε[ς] Ἰουδαίοις; ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθαι καὶ

25. τε added above the line. 28. α of βοηθησαι corr. from ε. ω of πρωτοι written above ο, which is crossed through. εἰσελθῶ Pap. 30. τραϊανον Pap. 32. ὑπο Pap. πλωτεινης' Pap. Second ε of εισερχονται written above η, and between χ and ο a letter or part of one deleted. 32. ατους = ατούς, as often. 33. l. ἀσπάζονται. 34. αυτοκρατορα' Pap. 35. τυγ'χανοντ[ες] Pap. 37. l. πορεύεσθε.

## Col. iii.

[. . . . .]ισ[  
 [. . . . .]ον Ἰουδ[αι . . . . .] . [. . . . .]ησ[  
 40 . [. . .] μελε[τ]ῆς τὸ θανεῖν καταφρο[ν]ήσ[ας] τοῦ θανάτου [  
 ὥστε κάμοι αὐθάδως ἀποκρινόμενος. Ἐρμαῖσκος εἶπεν  
 Ἄλλὰ λυπούμεθα ὅτι τὸ συνέδριόν σου ἐπλήσθη τῶν [  
 ἀνοσίων Ἰουδαίων. Καῖσαρ εἶπεν Ἴδε δεύτερόν σοι  
 λέγω, Ἐρμαῖσκε, αὐθάδως ἀποκρίνη πεποιθὸς τῷ  
 45 σεαυτοῦ γένει. Ἐρμαῖσκος εἶπεν Τί αὐθάδως ἀποκρί-  
 νομαι, μέγιστε Ἀυτοκράτωρ; δίδαξόν με. Καῖσαρ εἶπεν  
 Ὅτι τὸ συνέδριόν μου Ἰουδαίων ἐποίησας. Ἐρμαῖσκος.  
 Οὐκοῦν χαλεπὸν ἐστι τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ὠφί-  
 λεις οὖν πάλι τοῖς σεαυτοῦ βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἀνοσί-  
 50 οῖς Ἰουδαίοις συνηγορεῖν. ταῦτα λέγοντος Ἐρμαῖσκος  
 ἢ τοῦ Σαράπιδος προτομῇ ἦν ἐβάσταζον οἱ πρεσ-  
 βεῖς αἰφνίδιον ἴδρωσεν, θεασάμενος δὲ Τραιανὸς  
 ἀπεθαύμασ[ε]ν, καὶ μεθ' ὀλίγον συνδρομαὶ ἐγένον-  
 το εἰς [τῆ]ν Ῥώμην κραυγαί τε πανπληθεῖς ἐξεβο-  
 55 ὠντ[ο] καὶ π[ά]ν[τες] ἔφευγαν εἰς τὰ ὑψηλὰ μέρη τῶν λό-|[φων

41. l. ἀποκρίνεσθαι. ερμαῖσκος Pap.; so in l. 47. 43. After ιουδαιων a short blank space. ἴδε Pap. 45. γενει' Pap. 47. ἐποιησας' Pap. 48. l. ὠφείλεις or ὠφείλες. 52. ἴδρωσεν . . . τραϊανος Pap. 55. ὑψηλα Pap.

## Col. iv.

. . . . .  
 [. .]τ[  
 καὶ τ[  
 ποτ[  
 κλυ[  
 60 σου . [  
 ναι τ[  
 . . ε[  
 δεσ[  
 . . [  
 65 τρεσ[  
 ωσ[  
 απ[  
 . . . .  
 η[  
 μ[  
 70 ἀλλ[.] . η καὶ τηλικαύτη[  
 τας. Κλαύδιος Ἀθηγ[όδαρος(?)  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Κλαυδίου [  
 λέγει Ἀνάξιοι μὲν ε[  
 σφουσιν γὰρ αἰὼν λοιδορ[  
 75 πων εἶναι κατ[. . .]τ[  
 ον τῆς ὄψεως [. . .]ε[ ἀ-  
 σεβεῖς ὄντες [

71. Before κλαυδιος a blank space seems to have been crossed through, which is crossed through.

73. αναξιοι was originally written, but the ε  
 74. l. εἰν. 77. ε of οντες written above ο,

## Fragments.

1. . . .  
 ]κ[  
 ]π[  
 . . .

2. . . .  
 ]ε[  
 ]υ[  
 ] . [  
 . . .

ll. 3-18. ' . . . [?Dion]ysius, who had held several procuratorships, Salvius, Julius Salvius, Timagenes, Pastor, gymnasiarch, Julius Phanius, Philoxenus, gymnasiarch-elect, Sotion, gymnasiarch, Theon, Athenodorus, Paulus, a Tyrian by birth, voluntary advocate for the Alexandrians. On learning this the Jews also selected envoys on behalf of their own race, their nominees being Simon, Glaucon, Theudes, Onias, Colon, Jacob, and Sopater, by birth of Antioch, advocate for the Jews. Thereupon they started from the city, each party taking their own gods, the Alexandrians [a bust of Sarapis, the Jews . . . ]

ll. 22-37. ' . . . and at the end of the winter they landed at Rome. The Emperor learned that envoys of the Jews and Alexandrians had arrived, and appointed a place for hearing them both; and Plotina approached the senators so that they might appear against the Alexandrians and assist the Jews. The Jews were the first to enter and greeted the Emperor Trajan, who greeted them very affably in his turn, having been already won over by Plotina. The Alexandrian envoys next entered and greeted the Emperor, who did not return their salute, but said "Do you give me greeting like men deserving to receive one, when you are guilty of such outrages to the Jews? Begone and . . ."

ll. 40-55. "' . . . presumably] you are studying how to die, being so contemptuous of death as to answer me insolently." Hermaiscus said, "We are distressed that your council chamber has been filled with godless Jews." The Emperor said, "See, I tell you a second time, Hermaiscus, you are answering me insolently in reliance upon your birth." Hermaiscus said, "What insolent answer am I making, mightiest Emperor? Explain to me." The Emperor said, "Because you describe my council as dominated by Jews." Hermaiscus: "So the name of the Jews is irksome to you? You ought then to turn round and help your own people, and not to defend the godless Jews." While Hermaiscus said this, sweat suddenly broke out on the bust of Sarapis which the envoys carried, and Trajan seeing it marvelled; and presently there were tumults in Rome and many shouts were raised, and all fled to the high parts of the hills . . .'

9-10. Παῦλος . . . συνήγορος: probably Paulus occupied the same position on the occasion described in P. Par. 68, rather than that of the leader of the mission, as supposed by Wilcken, *op. cit.*, p. 815.

16-18. This statement that the Jews as well as the Alexandrians took with them 'their own gods' is extraordinary. The sentence must obviously have continued 'Ἀλεξανδρεῖς [μέν . . . ] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ . . . It would have been very interesting to know what divine symbol accompanied the Jewish envoys. That of the Alexandrians, as appears later (l. 51), was a bust of Sarapis.

21-2. The remains would suit αὐτοῖς rather better than αὐτοῖς, and the preceding συν is also very doubtful.

24-6. Some emendation is necessary here. In l. 24 παρ[εῖσι] seems to be wanted and may just be squeezed in, since ρ is a narrow letter and εἰ and σι need not occupy more space than ε and σ alone; it is unlikely that παρσι was written. The ρ is represented by a slight vestige which has been taken to belong to the tail. In ll. 25-6 κα[ὶ] ἐ[πί]ταξαι τὴν χ. ὥστε ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούσασθαι may be restored; or perhaps, as Wilcken suggests, τε is for τῆ, i. e. ῆ, with which ἀκούσεται could be retained. To read ὅτι π[ά]λιν . . . κα[ὶ] ἐ[πί]ταξαι would give a less satisfactory sense; the preliminary arrangements would naturally not rest with the envoys. Cf. B. G. U. 511. i. 17 μετετάξαι [Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ εἰς αὐ]ριον ἀκούσαι αὐτῶν.

26. The interest of Plotina in the affair, attested here and in ll. 31-2, has its analogue in that of Agrippina on the occasion of the embassy to Claudius; cf. B. G. U. 511. ii. 7-8 πα[ρούσης] Σαβαστῆς μετὰ τῶν ματρῶν. τοῖς συνκλητικῶ[ι]ς is expected after ἀπαντᾶ; cf. l. 11, where ἰουδαίου has been written for -οι. συγκλητικοί attended Claudius according to B. G. U., l. c.



40. μελε[τ]ῆς τὸ θανεῖν: cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 67 e οἱ ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν μελετώσι.

53-5. Cf. 33. iii. 8-14, where the condemnation of Appianus is represented as the occasion of a tumult, though there is not the same rhetorical exaggeration as here.

71. That the name begins a new sentence is indicated by the preceding blank space; it is however possible that this blank is due to the scaling of the ink. Ἀθην[ό]δωρος is suggested by l. 9, but the absence there of Κλαύδιος makes it very doubtful whether the same person is meant.

73. Between λεγει and αναξιοι there is a short space in which a slight trace of ink is discernible, and perhaps λεγεις should be read.

Fragments. These two unplaced fragments are narrow strips containing incomplete letters.

### III. EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

#### 1243. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* iii.

11.6 × 7.5 cm.

Second century.

These few lines from the bottom of a column are written in an informal uncial script very similar to that of 841 A-B (P. Oxy. V, Plates i-ii), and no doubt of about the same period; it is likely to fall well within the second century. Stops in the high position are used, and accents, breathings, and marks of elision have been freely inserted, apparently by a diorthotes who has made corrections in l. 1062, and whose ink in comparison with that of the text is of a rather stronger black. An otherwise unrecorded variant occurs in l. 1058.

As in 841, the literary text is on the verso of the papyrus; the recto contains the ends of a few lines apparently from a second-century survey-list.

1055 [σπειρομενων οφιος δν]οφέ[ρην επι βωλον οδοντων  
 [αι κεν ορινομενους πολ]εα[ς νειοιο δοκευσης  
 [λαθρη] λᾶαν [α]φε[ς στιβαρω]τερον· ο[ι δ αν επ αυτω  
 [καρχαλ]έαι κυνες ᾶ[στε πε]ρι βρώ[μης ολεκοιεν  
 [αλληλ]ους κα[ι] δ' [α]υτος επε[ι]γεο δηϊο[τητος  
 1060 [ιθυσαι] το δε κωας ες Ελλαδα τοῖο γ' ε[κητι

[οισεαι] ἐξ Αιης τηλοῦ ποθι· νέισεο δ' ἐμ[πης  
 [ηι φιλ]ον ἡ τοι ἑά[[ν]]δεν [[ε]]<sup>α</sup>φορμηθε[ντι νεεσθαι  
 [ως αρ ε]φη κ[αι] σίγα ποδῶν παρος οσσ[ε βαλουσα

1058. καρχαλ]εαι: καρχαλέοι MSS., καρχαρέοι Et. Mag. 493. 1. The rough breathing and accent on the two omegas are probable, but not quite certain.

1059. ι of διο[τητος] is joined to the preceding η by a diagonal stroke, which is not easily accounted for. It is hardly likely that δν was first written.

1060. There is a spot of ink, perhaps accidental, at the top of a hole in the papyrus between ο and γ of τοιο γ.

1061. νεισεο is also the spelling of Laur. Guelf.

1062. ἡ: so Laur. Vatt., Merkel; ἡ Vrat. Pariss., εἰ Guelf. vulg. ν of εανδεν was deleted by the corrector who substituted α for ε in αφορμηθε[ντι].

## 1244. HERODOTUS i.

Fr. 1 16.6 × 13 cm.

Early second century.

The following fragment from the top of a column, with the ends and beginnings of a few lines from the columns immediately adjoining it, is written in irregular upright uncials of medium size which appear to date from the earlier part of the second century. A somewhat similar, though much better formed, hand is seen for example in 220 (P. Oxy. II, Plate vi). The columns have a pronounced slope to the right. Diacritical signs are scarce; the diaeresis takes the form of a horizontal stroke in l. 31, and a stop in the medial position apparently occurs in the same line. The text displays a tendency to omission of words, but is otherwise good; a reading adopted by Hude from 18 is supported (l. 3), and a commonly accepted emendation of Schaefer also finds confirmation (l. 31).

On the verso are some incomplete lines from the ends of two columns written in round informal uncials which are also likely to fall within the second century. The subject is not clear; the names Σαραπίων, ]κανιανός, and Ἄγαθος Δαίμων (?) are mentioned, and the Latin word *νομενκλάτωρ* occurs twice in the plural.

Col. i.

[σι το ιρον το εν Ασ]καλωνι 105  
 [και τοισι τουτων] αἰει εκγο  
 [νοισι ενεσκηψε] η θε  
 [ος θηλεαν νουσον] ωστε  
 5 [αμα λεγουσι τε οι Σ]κυθαι

Col. ii.

περ και προτερον και την  
 τε Νινον ειλον ως δε ειλον  
 εν ετ[ερο]ι[σ]ι λογοισι δηλω  
 15 σω και τ[ο]υς Ασσυριους υπο  
 χειριους εποιησαντο πλην

[δια τουτο νοσε]ειν και ο  
 [ραν παρ εωτ]οισι τους  
 [απικνεομενους ες την]  
 [Σκυθικην χωρην] ως δι  
 10 [ακεαται τους καλε]ουσι ε  
 [ναρεας οι Σκυθαι] ε[π]ι μεν 106  
 . . . . .

της Βαβυλωνιης μοιρης  
 μ[ετ]α δε ταυτα Κυαξ[α]ρης  
 μεν βασιλευσας τεσσαρα  
 20 κοντα ε[τεα] συν τοισι Σκυ  
 [θαι] ηρξαν τελευται εκδε  
 κετα[ι] δε Αστυαγης ο Κυαξα  
 ρεω [π]αι[ς] την βασιληην  
 και οι εγενετο [θ]υγατη[ρ]  
 25 τη [ο]υν[ο]μα εθετ[ο] Μαν  
 δανη[ν] την εδ[ο]κεε [Αστυ  
 αγης εν τωι υπνωι ο[υ]ρη  
 σ[α]ι ωσ[τε] πλησαι μεν [την  
 εωτου πολιν επικατα [  
 30 κλ[υ]σαι δε και την Ασιην πα [  
 [σα]ν· ὑπερθεμενος δε  
 τ[ω]ν μαγων τ[ο]ισι ονε[ι]  
 . . . . .

Col. iii.

Unplaced fragment.

νομ[α ην Καμβυσης τον  
 ευ]ρισκε οικιης μεν εον  
 35 τα [αγαθης  
 . . . . .

. .  
 . [  
 ε[  
 . .

α]μπ[ελον  
 ε]πι[σ]χ[ειν  
 πασα]ν ιδ[ων  
 υ]περθε[μενος  
 40 ονειρο]πολ[οι  
 . . . . .

3. η: so 18. 11 and Longinus, Hude; δ MSS.

6. σφεας seems to have been omitted after τουτο; the lacuna is of the same size as that in the following line.

8. The papyrus is preserved at the end of this line, but the ink has entirely disappeared.

27. τοσουτον was apparently omitted after ο[υρη]σ[α]ι. The remains of that word are not

securely identified, but  $\sigma[\nu\eta]$  sufficiently fills l. 27, and  $\sigma[\alpha]$  suits the vestiges at the beginning of l. 28, while  $\tau[\sigma]\nu$  does not. Cf. l. 6.

31. Schaefer's correction of the MSS. reading  $\dot{\iota}\pi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  is confirmed.

36-40. The position of this fragment in the column is uncertain, and therefore the restoration is not carried beyond the completion of imperfect words.

## 1245. THUCYDIDES i.

25.3 × 22.6 cm.

Fourth century.

A fragment from a papyrus roll, well written in medium-sized upright uncials of the square so-called Biblical type. This style is now known to go back to the beginning of the third century, if not to the end of the second (cf. 661, P. Rylands 16<sup>1</sup>), but the present papyrus is probably not to be reckoned among the earliest examples, partly on account of the formation of some of the letters, partly of the colour of the ink, which is of the brown colour common in the Byzantine age. 1245 is therefore more likely to belong to the fourth century than to the latter part of the third. The ends of lines are not kept very even, and the angular mark which is elsewhere often used to disguise irregularity is not here employed. Some corrections have been introduced by a second hand, to which the occasional high stops are apparently also due.

Textually the papyrus is of no special interest. A few variations from the mediaeval MSS. occur, both by way of addition (ll. 7, 12) and omission (ll. 49, 84), but they are unimportant. Some agreements with C and CG are noticeable in ll. 100, 110, and 123. The scribe was weak in orthography, being particularly liable to the confusion of  $\alpha\iota$  and  $\epsilon$ , and these errors have sometimes been passed over by the corrector.  $\xi\nu\nu$  stands side by side with  $\tau\tau$ , for which  $\sigma\sigma$  has once been substituted (l. 113). Iota adscript is usually written, and sometimes obtrudes where it is not wanted.

## Col. i.

[μη εμποδιον] ειναι 139. 4  
[το ψηφισμα ειρη]  
[νης αλλα καθε]λειν  
[και παρελθων Περι]κλης  
5 [ο Ξανθιππου αν]ηρ  
[κατ εκεινον το]ν

## Col. ii.

$\xi[\nu]\nu\epsilon\sigma[\epsilon]\omega\varsigma \mu\epsilon[\tau]α\pi\omicron\iota$   
[εισθ]αι ενδεχετε γαρ  
 $\tau[α\varsigma \xi']\nu\mu\phi\omicron[\rho]α\varsigma \tau\omega\upsilon$   
35  $\pi[ρ]α\gamma\mu[α]\tau\omega\upsilon \omicron\upsilon\chi \eta\tau$   
[το]ν αμα[θ]ω\varsigma [χ]ωρησ[[ε]]αι  
[η] κε [τ]α\varsigma διανο[ι]α\varsigma του

<sup>1</sup> These two papyri have been strangely confused by Gardthausen in the new edition of his *Palaeographie*, ii, pp. 131-2. It is not, of course, the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, but P. Rylands 16, which has on the verso the dated letter of Hieroninus.

[χρονον πρωτος]ων  
 [Αθηναίων λεγ]ειν τε  
 [και πρασσειν] δυνα  
 10 [τωτατος παρη]νει τοι  
 [αδε της μεν] γνω 140. 1  
 [μης ω ανδρες Α]θηναι  
 [οι αι της αυτης] εχο  
 [μαι μη εικειν Π]ελο  
 15 [ποννησιοις και]περ  
 [ειδως τους ανθ]ρω  
 [πους ου τη αυτ]ηι ορ  
 [γη αναπειθομε]νους  
 [τε πολεμειν και] εν  
 20 [τωι εργαυ πρασσ]ον  
 [τας προς δε τας ξ]υμ  
 [φορας και τας γν]ωμας  
 [τρεπομενους ο]ρωι  
 [δε και νυν ομοι]α και  
 25 [παραπλησια ξυμ]βου  
 [λευτα μοι οντα και] τους  
 [αναπειθομενους] [[η]]μων  
 [δικαιω τοις κοιν]ηι δο  
 [ξασιν ην αρα τι και] σφαλ  
 30 [λωμεθα βοηθειν] η μη  
 [δε κατορθουντα]ς της

## Col. iii.

[και Αιγιν]αν αυτο  
 νο[μον α]φιεναι και  
 65 το Μ[ε]γα[ρε]ων ψηφισ  
 μα καθα[ι]ρειν· οι δε  
 τελευτα[ιοι] οιδε ηκον  
 τες και τ[ου]ς Ελληνας  
 προαγορευουσιν

α[νθ]ρ[ωπο]ν δι οπερ και  
 την τυχην οσα αν  
 40 παρα [λο]γον ξυμβη  
 ειωθαμεν α[ι]τιασθαι·  
 Δακ[ε]δαιμονιοι δε 140. 2  
<sup>δ</sup>  
 προτερον τε ηλοι η  
 σαν επιβουλεον  
 45 τες ημειν και νυν  
 ουχ ηκισ[τ]α ειρημε  
 νον γαρ δικας μεν  
 των διαφ[ορ]ων αλ  
 ληλοις [διδοναι ε]  
 50 χειν δε ε[κ]ατερουσ  
 α εχομε[ν] ο]υτε αυ  
 τοι δικα[ς] πω] ητησαν  
<sup>υ</sup>  
 οτε ημω[ν] διδοντων  
 δεχοντα[ι] βουλον  
 55 ται δε πολεμωι μαλ  
 λον τα εγκληματα  
 η λογοις διαλυεσθαι  
 και επιταττοντες  
 ηδη και ουκετι αιτι  
 60 ω[μ]ε[ν]οι παρεισι· Πο 140. 3  
 τει[δαιας τε] γαρ [α]παν  
 ιστα[σθαι κελ]εουσι[ι]

## Col. iv.

καταστη[σαιτε αυτοις]  
 95 απο του ι[σ]ου υμειν  
 μαλλον π[ρ]οσφ[ε]ρεσθαι  
 αυτοθεν δη [διανοη 141. 1  
 θηιτε η υ[π]ακ[ο]υειν  
 πριν τι βλ[α]β[η]ν[αι η ει  
 100 πολεμησομ]ε[ν] ωσπερ

70 αυτονομους αφει  
 εναι ὑμων δε μηδεις 140. 4  
 νομιση περι βραχε  
 ος αν πολεμειν ει το  
 Μεγαρων ψηφισμα  
 75 μη καθελοιμεν ο  
 περ μαλιστα προν  
 χονται ει κα[θ]ερε  
 θειη μη αν γιγνεσ  
 σθαι τον πολεμον  
 80 μηδ [ε]ν υμειν αυ  
 τοις αιτιαν υπολι  
 π[[ε]]σθαι ως δια μικρον  
 επολεμησατε· το γαρ 140. 5  
 βραχυ τουτο πασαν  
 85 υμων εχει την βεβαι  
 ωσιν και πειραν της  
 γνωμης οισ ει ξυγχω  
 ρησετε και αλλο τι  
 μειζον ευθυς επιτα  
 90 χθησεσθε ως φοβωι  
 και τ[ο]υτο υπακου  
 σαντ[ε]ς· απισχυρισα  
 μενο[ι] δε σαφες αν

εμοιγε αμ[εινον] δο  
 κει εναι κα[ι] επι μεγα  
 λη και επι βρα[χ]ειαι  
 ομοιως προφ[ασει] μη  
 105 [[η]]ξοντες μηδε ξυν  
 φοβωι εξοντ[ε]ς α κε  
 κτημεθα· τη[ν] γαρ αυ  
 την δυναται [δουλω  
 σιν η [τ]ε μεγ[ιστη] και  
 110 η ελαχιστη δ[ικαιω  
 σις απο των [ομοιων  
 προ δικης το[ις] πελας  
 επιτα[[ττ]]ομ[εινη] τα 141. 2  
 δε του πολεμ[ου] και  
 115 των εκατερο[ις] υπαρ  
 χοντων ω[ς] ουκ α  
 σθενεστερ[α] εξομεν  
 γνωτε καθ [εκαστον  
 ακου]οντες αυτου 141. 3  
 120 γοι τε γαρ ει[σι] Πελο  
 πονησιο[ι] και ου  
 τε ιδιαι ουτ ε[ν] κοινοι  
 χρηματ[α] εσ[τιν]· επειτα  
 χρονιων π[ολεμων]

7. ων : om. MSS.

12. It is clear from the size of the lacuna that the papyrus agreed with Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* *iud.* 920. 14 in inserting *ανδρες*, which the MSS. omit.

26. The supplement is rather longer than what a comparison of the preceding and following lines indicates, and *μοι* was perhaps omitted.

36. *ς* of *αμαθως* was corrected by the first hand from *ν*. The alteration of [*χ*]ωρησε το -σαι is due to the corrector.

49. *διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι* MSS.

56. *τα εγκληματα η λογοις* : *η λογ. τα εγκλ.* MSS. *a* of *τα* was altered from *ε*.

60. *παρεισι* : so ABDEFG ; *παρεισιν* C, Hude.

*Ποτει[δαια]* : so Hude ; *Ποτιδ.* MSS. But the spelling of the papyrus counts for little.

78. 1. *γιγνεσθαι*.

81. 1. *υπολιπθηε*. It is curious that the corrector, while substituting *η* for *ε*, has left the termination untouched.

84. *βραχυν*: *βραχυν τι* MSS.

87. *ε* of *ει* has been corrected by the second hand from *σ*.

89. *ι* of *επι* was lengthened by the second hand.

93. *αν*: so MSS., though AEF have *καταστήσετε*, whence Madvig conjectured *ἐγκαταστήσετε*, Richards δὴ *καταστήσετε*. But the future form is easily explicable as originating in the common interchange of *ε* and *αι*, of which this papyrus offers several examples.

100. *ωσπερ* (CG) fills the lacuna better than *ως* (ABEF).

110. *η*: so CG; om. ABEF.

123. The papyrus evidently agreed with C in omitting *αὐτοῖς* which is added after *ἔστιν* by ABEFG; cf. Syrianus *αὐτοῖς ἔστιν*, Lex. Vindob. *εἰσιν αὐτοῖς*. Hude omits *αὐτοῖς*, Stuart Jones retains it.

## 1246. THUCYDIDES vii.

9.6 × 7 cm.

Early second century.

This small fragment from the seventh book of Thucydides is written in the hand of 844, the long papyrus of Isocrates, *Panegyricus*. The round upright uncials are of the same size and formation, the column is of the same width, and the diminution of the letters at the end of longer lines, which was a feature of 844, also reappears here. There is indeed this point of difference, that in 1246 stops in the high position only occur; but it cannot be inferred from so small a specimen that this was the only stop used, and, moreover, the punctuation of 844 was probably not entirely original.

The fragment is not sufficiently extensive to show the quality of the text but an agreement with BH against older MSS. is noticeable in l. 9; cf. 1247.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

•   •   •   •   •	
[κριθη]σαν και ο πεζος	38. 1
[αμα α]πο των τε[ιχεων	
απηλθε· τη δ υστερεια	2
οι μεν Συρακοσιοι η	
5 συχαζον ουδεν δηλουν	
τες οποιον τι το μελ	
[λ]ον ποιη[σ]ουσι· ο δε Ν[ι	
κιας ιδων αντιπαλα	
[τα] της ν[αυμαχιας] γε	
10 [νο]μενα [και ελπιξ]ων	
[αυτο]υς α[υθις επι]χει	

	[ρησειν] τους τε τ[ρι]η	. .
	[ραρχους] ηναγκα[ζ]εν	σ[
	[επισκ]εναζειν τας [ν]αυς	. .
15	[ει τις τ]ι επεπονηκ[ει	
	[και ο]λκαδας προω[ρμι	
	[σε προ] του σ[φετερου	
	. . . . .	

9. [τα] της: so BH, Stuart Jones; om. Hude with other MSS.

Col. ii. Since the height of the column is unknown, it is impossible to guess the position of this solitary letter.

#### 1247. THUCYDIDES viii.

Height 23.4 cm.

Second century.

The upright uncial hand of this papyrus shows so close a resemblance to that of 1082, containing the *Meliambi* of Cercidas, that the conclusion can hardly be avoided that the two MSS. were written by the same scribe. The only noticeable difference is that *ν* tends to be broader than in 1082, and that the *α* regularly has a rounded loop, whereas there both the rounded and angular forms were used. These distinctions, however, are insufficient to counterbalance the numerous strongly marked similarities, among which the long fine shaft of *τ* and *ν*, the low-looped *ω*, and the small bent head of *σ* are prominent. Stops in two positions, high and medial, are found, and are apparently due to the original scribe, but since two other hands have made marginal insertions, their origin is hardly certain.

Of the text, which is accurately written and of good quality, the most interesting feature is a distinct tendency to agree with B, the Vatican MS. of the eleventh century; cf. ll. 1-2, 18, 31. Westermann's commonly accepted addition of *ε*s before *επτά* in 10. 3 is confirmed (l. 40). In three places slight divergences from the traditional order of words occur (ll. 29-30, 32, 54), one of them recorded by a second hand as a variant at the bottom of a column. Another marginal variant has been inserted at l. 42, but the original reading is unfortunately obliterated.

Col. i.

μωμε]γας τον ν[ουν μαλ	8. 3
λον εχο]υσι η τας [υστερον επι	
διαφερο]μενας [και γαρ τον	4





- 35 πανεχωρησαν και οι Αθη  
 ναιοι· τας γαρ των Χιων επτα 3  
 νους εν τωι αρ[ι]θμωι μετα  
 σφων εχ[ο]ντες ου πιστας ενο  
 μιζον· αλλ υστερον [αλ]λ[α]ς  
 40 προσπληρωσαντες εξ [ε]πτα  
 και τρι[ι]ακοντα παραπλεο[υ]τες  
 αυτους κ[ατ]αδιδ[ω]κουσι . . . ] εις Πειραιον )  
 ραιον [τ]η[ς Κορι]νθια[ς] εστι δε  
 λιμην ερημος και ε[σ]χατος  
 45 προς τα μεθορια της Επιδαν  
 ριας· και μ[ι]αν μεν ναυν  
 ) ω[ς] δε ουκ επι πολυ επηκο[λο]υθησαν

## Col. iii.

- . . . . .  
 τ[ε]ς επι τας ναυς και ου πολ 11. 2  
 λ[ω]ι υστερον και οι αλλοι προς  
 50 χ[ω]ροι και ορωντες την φυ  
 λ[α]κην εν χωριωι ερημωι επιπο  
 ν[ο]ν ουσαν ηπορουν και επενο  
 η[σαν] μεν κατακαυσαι τας  
 ν[αυ]ς επειτα δε αυτοις εδο  
 55 ξ[εν] ανελκυσαι και τωι πεζωι  
 π[ρο]σκαθημενους φυλακην  
 εχ[ειν] εως αν τις παρατυχη  
 δι[α]φυγη επιτηδεια επεμ  
 ψε [δ] αυτοις

1-11. Since both the beginnings and ends of the lines are lost, the point of division between the lines is only conjectural.

1. τον ν[ο]ν μαλλον: so B; μάλλον τὸν νοῦν other MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones.

2. In view of the tendency of the papyrus to agree with B it seems likely that επιδιαφερο-μενας (Stuart Jones with B) stood here rather than διαφερο]μενας (other MSS., Hude).

18. αι σπονδαι: so B; om. other MSS., Hude.

23. λησουσιν: so C (-σι); λησωσι ABGM.

24. Κεγχρεῶν B.

28. The size of the lacuna appears to be in favour of supposing that the papyrus agreed with the MSS. in reading *Αλκαμενην*, not *Αλκαμενη*.

29-30. *ισαις* [το πρ]ω[το]ν: τὸ πρῶτον ἴσαις MSS. Probably the marks (added by a corrector?) above l. 29 have some reference to the order of the words ( $\bar{i}$  is used to denote transposition in mediaeval MSS.; cf. *Hermes*, ii, p. 248), but their purport is not entirely clear.

31. *υπηγον*: so B and schol. (*ὑπεχώρουν*), Hude, Stuart Jones; *επηγον* ACEFGM.

32. The original text agrees with that of the MSS. A later hand has recorded a different order at the foot of the column, calling attention to the variant by the word *κάτ(ω)* in the margin; cf. e. g. 852. i. ii. 8, note. For the sign preceding this adscript and following that at l. 42 cf. 16. iii. 3, &c.

40. Westermann's insertion of *ἐς* before *ἐπτά* is here confirmed. The letters are imperfectly preserved, but may be regarded as practically certain.

42. *καταδιώκουσιν ἐς Πειραιόν* MSS., but whether this stood in the papyrus seems doubtful, since the marginal adscript *εἰς Πειραιον* would suggest a more important difference than merely *εἰς* for *ἐς*. Perhaps *εἰς Σπειραιον* was written, as conjectured by K. O. Müller. It is indeed just possible that this is really the reading in the margin, but the second letter is more like  $\iota$  than  $\sigma$ . The hand of the adscript is different from that of the variant entered at the foot of the column.

54. If the initial letters of this and the preceding lines have been rightly identified, *αυτοῖς* preceded *εδοξεν* instead of following it as in the MSS.

#### 1248. PLATO, *Politicus*.

32.4 × 25.8 cm.

Late second century.

This papyrus, which was found with 1241, is written in rather small and neat, though not particularly regular, round uncials, which may date from the middle or latter part of the second century. Alternations in the dialogue are generally marked, as usual, by double dots, but these were for the most part, at any rate, a subsequent addition, the original scribe having been content with marginal paragraphi and short blank spaces in the line. The double dots may well be due to the corrector who has occasionally made small modifications in the text, and it is likely that the other stops, which are found in three positions, though apparently without any definite distinction of meaning, proceeded from the same source. This corrector objected to the practice of the first hand of representing  $\nu$  at the end of a line by a dash over the preceding vowel, and has in several places inserted the  $\nu$ . The tall columns (25 × 5 cm.) lean over considerably to the right. Owing partly, perhaps, to the great height of the roll it was found necessary to support it by sticking patches on the verso, and fragments of other literary papyri have been utilized for this purpose. Some of these are of sufficient extent to be of value, and will be dealt with in a later volume.

Textually the papyrus is undistinguished; some small points of interest are found in ll. 7, 39, 53, 63, 68.

## Col. i.

θεισα[ν] α[μ]υντικην χει 280 e  
 [μ]ωνω[ν] ερεου προβλη  
 ματος ε[ρ]γαστικην· ο >  
 [ν]ομα δ[ε] υφαντικην.  
 5 λεχθεισαν : εοικεν γαρ :  
 ουν αλλ ουκ εστιν πω >  
 τελειον ω παι τ[ουτ]ο [τ]ο  
 λελειμμενον· ο γαρ εν  
 αρχη της των ιματιῶν  
 10 εργασιαις απομε[ν]ο[ς]  
 τουναντιον υφη δραν 281  
φαινεται : πως : το μεν  
 της υφης συμπλοκη  
τις εστιν που : ναι : το δε  
 15 γε των συνεστῳτων  
 και συμπεπειλημενῶν  
διαλυτικη : το ποιον δη :  
 το της του ξαινοντος τε  
 χνης εργον· η την ξαν  
 20 τικην τολμησομεν  
 υφαντικην και τον >  
 ξαντην ως οντα υφαν  
 την καλειν : ουδαμως :  
 και μην την γε αυ στη  
 25 μονος εργαστικην >  
 και κροκης ει τις υφαν  
 τικην προσαγορευει  
 παραδοξον τε και ψευ  
δος ονομα λεγει [·] πως 281 b  
 30 γαρ ου : τι δε γραφευτικῆν

## Col. ii.

εργα δοκειν χ[ρη] το γε  
 ·ου·  
 συναιτιας ειναι π[ροσ]  
 ποιησασθαι π[α]ντος [ν  
 55 φασματος : ορθ[ο]τατα :  
 ποτερον ουν ημιν ο  
 περι της υφαντικης λο  
 γος ου προειλομεθα  
 μερους ικανως εσται  
 60 διωρισμενος· εαν αρ αυ  
 την των επιμελειῶν  
 οποσαι περι την ερεαν  
 εσθητα εισιν την καλ  
 λιστην και μεγαιστην 281 d  
 65 πασων τιθωμεν· η λε  
 γοιμεν μεν αληθες· ου  
 μην σαφες γε ουδε τε  
 λεον πριν αυ και ταυ  
 τας αυτης πασας περι  
 70 ελωμεν : ορθως : ουκουν  
 τα  
 μετα ταυ ποιητεον ο  
 λεγομεν ιν εφεξής  
ημιν ο λογος ιη πως  
δ ου· πρωτον μεν τοι  
 75 ιν δυο τεχνας ουσας  
 περι παντα τα δρωμε  
να θεασωμεθα : τιναι :  
 την μεν γενεσεως  
 ουσαν συναιτιον την  
 80 δ αυτην αιτιαν : πως :

συμπασαν και τη[ν] α  
 κεςτικην ποτερα μ[η]  
 δεμιαν επιμελειαν  
 μηδε τινα θεραπειαν  
 35 ε[σθ]ητο[s] θωμεν η κ[αι]  
 τ[αυτας] πασας ως υφαν  
 [τικας λε]ξομεν: ουδα >  
 μω[s]: αλλ[α] μην της γε  
 θεραπ[ι]ας αμφισβη  
 ησ  
 40 τουσιν αυται συμπασαι  
 και της γενεσεως της  
 των ιματιων τη της  
 υφαντικης δυναμει > .  
 μεγαστον μεν μερος  
 45 [ε]κεινη διδουσαι· μεγαλα  
 δε και σφισιν αυταις απο  
 νεμοσαι: πανν γε: προς 281 c  
 τοιυνν ταυταις ετι τας >  
 των εργα[λ]ειων δημι  
 50 ουργους τεχνας δι ων α  
 ποτελειται τα[[s]] της υφης

οσαι μεν το πραγμ αυ 281 e  
 το μη δημιουργουσι >  
 ταις δε δημιουργουσαις  
 οργανα παρασκευαζου  
 85 σιν· ων μη παραγενο  
 μενων ουκ αν ποτε  
 εργασθειη το προστε  
 ταγμανον εκαστη >  
 των τε[χνων] ταυτας  
 90 μεν συν[αιτ]ιους· τας δ αυ  
 το το πραγμα α[περγαζο  
 μενας αιτιας· εχ[ρει γουν  
 λογον]: μετα τ[ουτο] δη  
 τας μεν περ[ι] τε ατρακτους  
 95 και κερκιδας κ[αι] οποσα  
 αλλα οργανα τ[ης] περι  
 τα αμφισματα [γενε  
 σεως κοινωνει πασας  
 συναιτιας ειπωμεν.  
 100 τα δε αυτα [θ]εραπευου >  
 σας και [δη]μιουργουσας  
 αιτιας: [ορθοτατα]: των

## Col. iii.

2 lines lost.  
 105 κ[αι] πασαν την περι  
 ταυτα θεραπειτικην  
 πολλης ου[σης] της  
 κοσμητικ[ης] τουνταν  
 θα αυτης μ[οριον] εικος  
 110 μαλιστα πε[ρι]λαμβα  
 νειν· ονομ[αζοντας]  
 παν τη τε[χνη] τη γνα  
 φευτικη[: καλωσ]: και

282

της κερκιστικ[ης] ημι  
 130 συ και οσα τα συνκει[με  
 να απ αλληλων αφ[ισ  
 τησιν] παν τουτο ω[s]  
 εν φραζειν τη[s] τε ταλα  
 σιουργιας αυτης εστι [  
 135 που και μεγαλα τινε [  
 κατα παντα ημ[ιν] η[σ]τη  
 τεχνα η [συνκριτ]ικη [  
 τε και διακριτικη[: να[ι]:

- μην ξαντική γε και  
 115 > νηστι[κ]η [και παν  
 τ αυ τα περι [την ποιη  
 σιν αυτην τ[ης εσθη  
 τος ης λεγο[μεν μερη  
 μια τις εστι [τεχνη  
 120 των υπο π[αντων  
 λεγομεν<sup>ων</sup> [[α]] η ταλασι  
 ουργικη[: πως γαρ ου:  
 τ[ης δε τα]λασιουργικης 282 b  
 δυο τμημ[ατα εστω  
 125 και τουτοι[ν εκατερον  
 αμα δυοιν πεφ[υκατον  
 τεχναιν μερη: π[ως: το  
 μεν ξαντικο[ν και το
- της τ[ο]ινυν διακριτικης  
 140 η τε ξανθικη και τα νυν  
 δη ρηθεντα απαντα  
 εστιν· η γαρ εν εριοις 282 c  
 τε και στημοσιν δια  
 κριτικη· κερκιδι μεν  
 145 αλλον τροπον γιγνο  
 μενη· χερσιν δε ε[τ]ε  
 ρον εσχεν οσα αρτι[ω]s  
 ονοματα ερρηθη πα  
 νυ μεν ουν αυθις δη  
 150 παλιν συγκριτικης μο  
 [ρι]ον αμα και [[της]] ταλα  
 [σι]ουργιας αυτη γιγνο  
 [μενον] λαβωμεν

## Col. iv.

- . . . . .  
 [ναι τ]ο[υτου δη το μεν 282 c  
 155 ατρ[α]κτω [τε στραφεν και  
 στερεον ν[η]μα γενο  
 μενον στη[μονα μεν  
 φαθι το νημ[α την δε α  
 πευθυνουσ[αν αυτο τε  
 160 χνην ειναi [στημονονη  
 τ[ι]κ[η]ν: ορθω[s: οσα δε γε  
 αυ [την] μεν σ[υστροφην  
 χαννην λαμβανει  
 τη δε τ[ο]ν σ[τη]μονος εμ  
 165 πλεξ[ει προς την της γνα  
 ψεω[s
- . . . . .

5. The double dots are wrongly placed after γαρ instead of ουν.

7. [τ]: om. MSS.

8. I. λελεγμενον.

30. *γραφειντικην* represents the usual Egyptian spelling; *κναφ*. BT.  
 34. *τι* of *τινα* was corrected from *ν*.  
 39. *αμφισβητησουσιν*, the reading of BT, has been superscribed over that of Ven. 8, Vind. 31, and originally Ven. 184, *αμφισβητουσιν*. Whether the insertion is due to the first or second hand is uncertain.  
 51. The superfluous *σ* was lightly crossed out, and a dot was also placed above it.  
 53. The reading of the first hand, *συναϊτας*, is that of the MSS.; cf. l. 99.  
 63. *εισιν την*: *εις την* T, Burnet, *εις γην* B, *εισι* others.  
 66. *αληθες*: *αν τι αληθεις* MSS.  
 68. *αν*: so BT; *αν* Ven. 189, Vind. 31, Burnet.  
 99. *συναϊτας*: *συναϊτους* MSS.; cf. l. 53.  
 100. *τα*: l. *τας*.  
 102. The lower of the double dots has disappeared both before and after [*ορθοτατα*].  
 115. For the diplê opposite this line cf. 1241. v. 5, note. Its meaning here is uncertain. The MSS. read *ξαντικην* . . . *νησοτικην* (-η Stephanus), and perhaps the marginal sign has some reference to the dubious reading. Whether the papyrus had the nominative or accusative cannot be determined. Or possibly there was an error at the end of this line, e. g. *παντα* | *παντα*; *παν*|*τ αν* makes a rather short supplement.  
 123. *δε*: *δη* MSS.  
 127. *ι* of *τεχναιν* was a later insertion, perhaps by the second hand.  
 133. *τε* may have been omitted; five letters would make the line of normal length.  
 136. *ημ[ω] η[στη(ν)]*: or possibly *ησ[τ]η[ν]*, omitting *ημω*.  
 140. l. *ξαντικη*.  
 151. *της* was apparently intended to be cancelled by dots placed above the letters; cf. l. 51. Om. *της* MSS.

1249. BABRIUS, *Fables*.

9.5 × 7.5 cm.

Second century. Plate V.

This small fragment is of considerable importance for its bearing both upon the date of Babrius and the history of the text of the *Fables*. It is a piece from the top of a column, neatly written in rather small round uncials, which can hardly be put later than the end of the second century, and may easily be appreciably earlier. A hand of the same type in the present volume is seen in 1241; cf. 211, 220, recto; 412, written about A.D. 250, shows a posterior stage of development, as also, probably, does 656. But if the close of the second century is on a liberal estimate the downward limit for 1249, the poet himself, whom Crusius would place near the beginning of the third century (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* ii. 2658; cf. id. *De Babr. aet.*), must have lived well within the second, if he does not go back to the first. This period, i. e. about A.D. 100, was adopted on metrical grounds by Christ, *Gr. Litt.* 1905, p. 651. Babrius has, indeed, often been referred to the Hellenistic age, but a second-century papyrus does not, of course, substantiate that improbable view. With regard to the text two points are of especial interest. That the alphabetical order of the *Fables*

which is found both in the Codex Athous (A) and the paraphrases of Babrius is unlikely to be original was recognized, although its antiquity is attested by P. Amh. 26, where a similar arrangement appears. In 1249, on the other hand, nothing of the sort is to be found. The four fables here partially preserved are xlili, cx, cxviii, and xxv, beginning respectively with the letters E, M, Ξ, Γ. Secondly, while the prose epimythia attached in A to cx and cxviii are, naturally, here absent, the metrical epimythium of xlili stood in the papyrus, which thus carries back the tradition of its class a stage beyond the Assendelft tablets (third cent.) and P. Amh. 26. The question of the genuineness of some of these epimythia may now have to be reconsidered. Compared in detail with A, the papyrus shows verbal variations in cx. 4 and cxviii. 8, and omits cxviii. 5, a line on which suspicion had already fastened.

The end of each fable is marked by a paragraphus and the first letter of the next projects slightly to the left of the column. A mark of elision in l. 5 is the only diacritical sign occurring.

	σφαλλουσιν ημα[ς ενιοθ αι πεποιθησεις	xlili. 19
	μελλων οδευειν [της κυνος τις εστωσης	cx.
	ειπεν τι χασκεις [πανθ ετοιμα σοι ποιει	
	μετ εμου γαρ ηξε[ις η δε κερκον ουραιης	
5	σαινουσ' εφησε π[αντ εχω συ βαρδυνεις	
	ξουθη χελειδων η π[αροικος ανθρωπων	cxviii.
	εαρος κ[α]λιην ευθ[ετιζεν εν τοιχω	
	οπο[υ] γεροντων ο[ικος ην δικαστηρων	
	κακει νεοσσων ε[πτα γινεται μητηρ	4
10	οφισ δε τουτους ελ[π]υσας απο τρωγλης	6
	απαντας εξης εφαγ[εν η δε δειλαιη	
	παιδων αωρους συμφορας επεθρηνει	
	οιμμοι λεγουσ[α της εμης εγω μοιρης	
	[ο]που νομοι γαρ [και θεμιστες ανθρωπων	10
15	ενθεν χελειδα[ν ηδικημενη φευγω	
	[γν]ωμη λαγωω[υς ειχε μηκετι ζωειν	xxv. 1
	. . . . .	

1. The Assendelft tablets (T) agree with the papyrus in having the epimythium, which was first deleted by Lachmann.

4. ηξε[ις : so A ; εζεις Nauck.



5. *σαινουσ' εφησε* : ἄρασά φησι MSS. For the accus. with *σάινειν* cf. Schol. Theocr.  
2. 109 *σάινουσι τὸ οὐραϊόν*, Schol. Aesch., *S. c. Theb.* 704 *κυνῶν τῶν σαϊνόντων τὰς οὐράς*.

7. *εαρος* : ἦρος A.

9. The papyrus omits l. 5 *οὕτω περίσχοις πορφυροῖς ἐπανθούτων*, which was rejected by Gitlbauer (*temere*, Crusius thinks) and transposed, with emendations, after l. 6 by Seidler and Bergk.

10. *ελπ[υσας*, if right, is for *εpp[υσας*, an example of the not uncommon interchange of λ and ρ here. The λ is probable, though χ is not excluded, but the π is very uncertain.

12. *αωρους* : *αωρων* A.

13. l. *οιμοι*.

1250. ACHILLES TATIUS, *Clitophon and Leucippe* ii.

24.4 × 22.5 cm. Early fourth century. Plate VI.  
(Cols. i-ii).

Of the extant Greek romance-writers only Chariton has hitherto been represented in the papyri (1019, P. Fay. 1). We have now to add Achilles Tatius; and the following fragment containing three consecutive and nearly complete columns of the *Clitophon and Leucippe*, besides making valuable contributions to the text, supplies, like the Chariton papyri, important evidence for the date of the author. Rohde (*Griech. Roman*, p. 472) on the strength of supposed imitations of Musaeus placed Achilles Tatius in the middle of the fifth century, while W. Schmid (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* i. 245) brings him down to the sixth. Such estimates are no longer tenable, for the present papyrus is certainly anterior to the fifth century. It is written in round upright uncials of medium size, and of a style which is seen at a glance not to be that of the later Byzantine age. Some resemblance may be observed between this hand and that of 412, which was written not later than about A. D. 250. 1250, however, is no doubt not so early as this, but an attribution to the first half of the fourth century is not likely to err in respect of the downward limit. The composition of the romance cannot then be put much after the year A. D. 300, and Achilles need not be supposed to have lived more than a generation or two later than Heliodorus, who is assigned to the latter part of the third century (Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 465-6, Schmid, l. c.); and there is no longer any chronological difficulty in the statement of Suidas, which Rohde rejects, that the romance-writer was also the author of the astronomical work *Περὶ σφαιράς* of which some extracts are preserved.

As was to be expected from a witness standing so close to the author, the papyrus shows a number of small discrepancies from the mediaeval MSS., and in several places is manifestly superior to them. Two conjectures are corroborated (ll. 35, 120), and unsolved difficulties are removed in ll. 44, 58, and 108; no doubt in other instances of disagreement the papyrus is not seldom right, though

as l. 1, e. g., warns at the outset, it is by no means impeccable. On the other hand, in other passages which have been regarded as corrupt the traditional text is reproduced (cf. ll. 40-1, 48, 54, 63-4, 76, 92, 121), and in particular the drastic methods of Hercher meet with no support. But the most striking feature in the new text is the entirely different order of Chs. 2 and 3, 1-2, which are here inserted between Chs. 8 and 9. Some slight changes in the transitional phrases are made, so that the passage as it stands runs quite smoothly. But the last section of Ch. 3 would not join on to the end of Ch. 1, and there must have been a larger modification at this point. The abruptness of that section had already been observed by Jacobs, who suggested that something had fallen out. These remarkable divergences of the papyrus from the current version seem capable of two explanations. Either there were two redactions of the romance, a view which was suggested long ago by Salmasius, but was vigorously contested by Jacobs (pp. xliii sqq.); or possibly a leaf in the archetype from which the mediaeval MSS. were derived was copied in a wrong position, and the dislocation has been concealed by subsequent patching. The omission in some MSS. of the words *καὶ ἄρτι . . . καιρὸς ἦν*, in others of *καὶ πάλιν . . . καιρὸς ἦν* at the beginning of Ch. 2 might be taken to point in that direction.

With regard to palaeographical details, there is little that calls for notice. Punctuation is rare; a paragraphus is inserted below l. 7, and a high point in l. 100. Short lines have been sometimes filled with the ordinary angular sign, and *ν* at the end of a line here and there takes the form of a horizontal stroke to the right, and about on a level with the top, of the preceding vowel.

## Col. i. Plate VI.

	δεομαι καταπαυσον αυθις και	7. 7
	μη ταχυ την επωδην παραδρα	
	μησ και παλιν αγριανης το τραυ	
	μα και αμα λεγων την χειρα βι	
5	αιοτερον περιεβαλλον και ε	
	φιλουν ελευθεριωτερον η δε	
	ηνειχετο κωλυουσα δηθεν	
	εν τουτω πορωθεν ιδοντες	8. 1
	προσιουσαν την θεραπαιναν	
10	διελυθημεν εγω μεν ακω	
	και λυπουμενος η δε ουκ οιδ ο	
	πως ειχεν ραων ουν εγεγο	

- νειν και μεστος ελπιδων η  
 σθομην δε επικαθημενου  
 15 μοι του φιληματος ως σωμα  
 τος και εφυλασσον αληθως  
 ως θησαυρον το φιλημα τηρω<sup>-</sup>  
 ηδονης οπερ πρωτον εστιν  
 [γ]λυκυ και γαρ απο του καλλιστου 8. 2  
 20 [τ]ων του σωματος οργανων  
 [τ]ικτεται στομα γαρ φωνης  
 [ο]ργανον φωνη δε ψυχης σκι  
 [α] αι γαρ των στοματων συμ  
 [β]ολαι κερναμεναι και εκ  
 25 [π]εμπουσαι κατω την ηδο  
 [ν]ην ελκουσιν τας ψυχας ανω  
 [π]ρος τα φιληματα ουκ οίδα δε 8. 3  
 [ου]τω προτερον ησθεισης της  
 [κ]αρδιας και τοτε πρωτον εμα  
 30 [θ]ον οτι ου[δ]εν εριζει προς  
 [η]δονην φιληματι ερωτικ[ω]  
 [ε]σπερας δε γενομενης παλι<sup>-</sup>  
 [ο]μοιως συνεπινομεν ην γαρ 2. 1  
 [εο]ρτη προτρυγαιου Διονυσου  
 35 [τοτ]ε τον γαρ Διονυσον Τυριοι  
 [νο]μιζουσιν εαυτων επει και  
 [το]ν Καδμου μυθον αδουσιν  
 [και] της εορτης διηγουι[τ]αι 2. 2  
 [πατ]ερα μυθον οινον ουκ ει  
 40 [ναι] πω παρ ανθρωποις οπ[σ]υ[  
 [μηπ]ω παρ αυτοις ου τον μελα

## Col. ii. Plate VI.

να τον ανθοσμιαν ου τον της  
 Βιβλ[ι]ας αμπελου ου τον Μα[ρ]ω  
 νος τον Θραικιον ου Χειον εκ

- 45 λευκον ου τον Ικαριου τ[ο]ν νη  
 σιωτην αλλα τουτους μεν α  
 παντας αποικους ειναι Τυριω<sup>-</sup>  
 ανθρωπων την δε πρωτην  
 παρ αυτοις των οινων μητε
- 50 ρα ειναι γαρ εκει τινα φιλοξε  
 2. 3  
 νον [π]οιμενα οιον Αθηναιοι  
 τον Ικαριον λεγουσι και τον >  
 ενταυθα του μυθου γενεσθαι [  
 παν οσον Αττικον ειναι δο
- 55 κει επι τουτον ηκεν ο Διου[ν  
 σος [το]ν βουκολον ο δε αυτ[ω]>  
 παρ[ατι]θησιν οσα γη τρεφει και  
 μαζ[οι] βοων ποτον δε ην [π]α  
 ρ αυτοις οιον και ο βους επειν[ε<sup>-</sup>
- 60 ουπω γαρ το αμπελινον ην [και (?)  
 2. 4  
 ο Διονυσος επαινει της φιλο [  
 φροσυνης τον ποιμενα κα[ι  
 αυτω προτεινι κυλικα φιλοτη  
 σιαν το δε ποτος οινος ην [ο
- 65 δε πικρον [υ]φ ηδονης βα[κ]χευε  
 ται και [λεγ]ει προς το[ν] θεον πο  
 θεν ω [ξε]νε σοι το [υδωρ] τουτο  
 το πορφυρουν ποθ[εν] ουτως  
 ευρες αιμα γλυκυ ο[ν] γαρ εστιν
- 70 εκεινο το χαμαι ρ[εον] το μεν  
 2. 5  
 γαρ ες τα στερνα κατ[α]βαινει  
 και λεπτην εχει τη[ν] ηδονην  
 τουτο δε κα[ι] προ το[ν] στοματος  
 τας ρεινας ευφρανε[ι] και θιγον
- 75 τι μεν ψυχρον εστιν [εις] την  
 γαστερα δε καταθορ[ον] ανα  
 πνει κατωθεν ηδ[ον]ης πυρ  
 και ο Διονυσος εφη [τουτ] εστι<sup>-</sup>  
 οπωρας υδωρ τουτ[ο] εστιν αι

80 μα βοτρυος αγει προ[s την αμ 2. 6  
 πελον ο θεος τον βου[κολον  
 και τω[ν β]οτρυων λ[αβων α  
 [μα και θλ]ειβων κ[αι δικνυς

Col. iii.

την αμπελον του[το μεν εστι  
 85 εφη το υδωρ τουτ[ο δ]ε [η πηγη  
 ο μεν ουν οινος ουτω[s εις αν  
 θρωπους παρηλθεν [ως ο Τυρι  
 ων λογος εορτην δε [αγουσιν  
 εκεινην την ημεραν [εκεινω  
 90 τω θεω φιλοφρονουμ[ενος 3. 1  
 ουν ο πατηρ τα τε αλλα π[αρασκευ  
 ασας ες το δειπνον ετυχ[εν πο  
 λυτελεστερα και κρατηρ[α παρε  
 θηκατο ιερον του θεου πολυτε  
 95 λη μετα τον Γλανκου το[υ Χειου  
 δευτερον υελου μεν [το παν 3. 2  
 εργον ορωρυγμενης [κυκλω  
 δε αυτον αμπελοι περι[ιεστε  
 φον απ αυτου του κ[ρ]ατη[ρος  
 100 πεφυτευμεναι· οι δε βο[τρυες  
 παντη περικρεμαμει[οι ομ  
 φαξ μεν αυτων εκαστος [εφ ο  
 σον εστιν κενος ο κρατ[ηρ εαν  
 δε εγχεης οινου κατα [μικρον  
 105 ο βοτρυς υποπερκαζετ[αι και  
 σταφυλην τον ομφακα [ποιει  
 Διονυσος δε εντετυπωτ[αι των  
 βοτρυων πλησιον ινα [την  
 αμπελον οικω γεωργ[η επειδη 9. 1  
 110 δε του ποτου καιρος ην [ωνο  
 χοει ημιν ο Σατυρος κα[ι ποι

ει πραγμα ε[ρ]ωτικον εν[α]λλασ  
 σει τα εκπωματα και το μ[εν] ε  
 μον τη κορη προτιθησι [το δε  
 115 εκείνης εμοι και εγχεω[ν] αμ  
 φότεροις και κερασαμε[ν]ος  
 ωρεγεν εγω δε επετηρ[η]σα  
 το μερος του εκπωματ[ος] ενθα  
 [το χειλ]ος η παρθενος [πινου  
 120 [σα προσεθ]ηκεν ενα[ρ]μο[σα]με  
 [νος δε ε]νεπεινον απο[στολι  
 [μαιον τ]ουτο φιλημα πο[ιων] και  
 [αμα κ]ατεφιλουν το εκπ[ωμα  
 [η δε ως] ειδεν συνηκεν ο[τι] του

9. 2

1. ι. κατεπαισον.

3. και: μή MSS.

αγριανης: so MSS.; ἀγριάνη H(ercher).

8. εν: so MSS.; κὰν H.

12. ειχεν: om. MSS.

13. ησθομην: so Cod. Flor.; ἡσθανόμην Mon. Angl.

15. ως: ὡσπερ MSS.

16. αληθως: ἀκριβῶς MSS.

18. οπερ: ὁ MSS., which add ἐραστῇ after ἐστιν. H brackets ὁ . . . γλυκύ.

22. υ of ψυχης was corrected.

24. και εκ[π]εμποσαι κατω: καταπέμποσαι κατὰ τῶν στέρνων MSS.

26. ελκουσιν . . . ανω: καὶ ἔλκουσι MSS., omitting ανω.

28. ησθεισης: so MSS.; ἡσθεὶς ἐκ H with Cobet.

30. ου[δ]εν: μηδέν MSS.

32. [ε]σπερας δε γενομενης: ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ δείπνου καιρὸς ἦν MSS.

33. ην γαρ κτλ.: the papyrus here reverts to Ch. 2. 1 of the ordinary text.

35. τον γαρ: the papyrus confirms Jacobs's transposition, which is adopted by H.

40-1. πω: so Mon. Angl., ποτε Flor. and others, H. At the end of the line the papyrus seems to have agreed with the reading of Mon. Angl. Mediol. ὅπου μήπω. The choice lies between πο[υ] and οτε, and ὅτε οὔπω was actually conjectured by Jacobs. But πο[υ] appears to suit the remains slightly the better, and, since that reading is already attested, it has the stronger claim. οὔπω Flor., omitting ὅπου. H following Cobet rejects οὔπω παρ' αὐτοῖς.

43. Βιβλ[ι]ας: so MSS.; Βιβλίνης H.

44. Χειον: so MSS.; H inserts τόν, which was desiderated by Jacobs.

εκλευκον: ἐκ Λακαίνης MSS. For ἐκλευκος as an epithet of οἶνος cf. the Latin *exalbidus*, which is applied to *vina* by Pliny, *L. H.* xxiii. 1. 22.

45. ι. Ικαρον: the ι probably came in from l. 52.

48. ανθρωπων: so MSS.; ἀμπέλων H with Jacobs. It may be noticed that Jacobs's other

suggestion that ἀν(θρώπων) might have arisen from οὐρανῶν is put out of court by the papyrus, since ἀν(θρώπων) would not occur in a non-theological MS. of this date.

49. αυτοῖς : αὐτοῖς φῦναι MSS.  
 50. τινα φίλοξενον [π]οιμένα : φίλ. τινα βουκόλον MSS.; cf. l. 62.  
 51-2. Ἀθηναῖοι τον Ἰκαρίον : τὸν 'Ικ. 'Αθ. MSS.  
 52. και τον : καὶ τοῦτον MSS.  
 54. παν . . . δοκεῖ : so Flor. Mon. Angl.; πατέρα . . . δοκεῖν Vat. Mediol. Thuan. H reads πατέρα and ejects ὅσον . . . δοκεῖν.  
 57. τρεφεῖ : φέρεῖ MSS.  
 58. μαζ[οι] : the MSS. have ἄμαξα, which is clearly a corruption; it is singular that no one seems to have thought of μαζύς before.  
 60. ἀμπελῖνον : Jacobs strangely preferred ἀμπέλιον (Mediol.); ἄμπελον Flor. There would be room for και, which is not in the MSS., at the end of this line. Possibly the και which Flor. inserts before εἰπαινεῖ has been misplaced.  
 62. ποιμένα : βουκόλον MSS.  
 63. προτεινῖ : so MSS.; προπίνει H with Cobet.  
 64. ποτος : cf. Flor., in which ὄς is written above ποτον.  
 68-9. ποθ[εν] . . . γλυκυ : so MSS.; om. H.  
 76. ανα[πνεῖ] : so MSS.; ἀνάπτει Cobet, H.  
 77. ηδ[ου]νης πυρ : πῦρ ἡδ. MSS.  
 80. βοτρνος : βοτρώων MSS. H omits τοῦτό ἐστιν αἶμα βοτρώων.  
 90. φιλοφρονουμένος : φιλοτιμούμενος MSS.  
 92. ες : so Flor. Vat.; whether the papyrus had ες or εις in ll. 75 and 86 cannot be determined. This line is somewhat short even with the ν ἐφέλκυστικόν.  
 πολυτελεστερα : so Flor. Mon. Angl., πολυτελέστατα H, πολυτελέστερον others.  
 93. παρε[θη]κατο : παρέθηκε MSS.  
 94. ἱερων : τὸν ἱερ. MSS.  
 πολυτε[λη] : om. MSS.  
 96. υελον : ὑάλου MSS.  
 99. απ αυτου του : so Mon. Angl., H; ἀπὸ τοῦ Flor. Mediol. Vat. Thuan.  
 101. περικρεμαμε[νοι] : so Flor. Mon. Angl.; κρεμάμενοι Mediol. Vat. Thuan.  
 102. εφ? ο]σον : ὅσον MSS., but this does not sufficiently fill the line.  
 103. εστιν : ἦν MSS.  
 104. οινου : οἶνον MSS.  
 106. τον : so Mon. Angl.; τήν Flor. Vat. Mediol., H.  
 107. δε : τε MSS.  
 108. πλησιον : om. MSS. 'Praepositionem excidisse suspicaris,' Jacobs.  
 109. ονω : om. MSS.  
 At επειδη the papyrus goes on to Ch. 9 of the ordinary text. Possibly επει was read instead of επειδη, which makes the line a little long.  
 110. ποτον : δείπνου MSS., adding πάλιν ὁμοίως συνεπίνομεν after καιρὸς ἦν. Cf. ll. 32-3.  
 111. ἡμν ο Σατυρος : δὲ ὁ Σ. ἡμῖν MSS.  
 111-12. ποι[ε]ι πραγμα : τι ποιεῖ MSS. omitting πραγμα; there would perhaps be room for τι before ποι at the end of l. 111.  
 112. ε[α]λλα[σ]σει : διαλλάσσει MSS.; cf. ἐνήλλαξεν a few lines lower, where Mon. Angl. have διήλλαξεν.  
 116. κερασαμε[νος] : ἐγκ. MSS.  
 117. επετη[ρη]σα : ἐπιτηρήσας MSS.  
 120. προσε[θη]κεν : Boden's conjecture, which H adopts, is confirmed. προσέθιγεν MSS.  
 120-1. The MSS. have ἐναρμυσάμενος ἔπινον, but this does not suit the papyrus,

in which  $\nu$  is clear before  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\omega\omega\nu$ . Since the finite verb  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\rho[\eta\sigma\alpha]$  was written in l. 117,  $\delta\epsilon$  is required after the participle. As an alternative to the supplement adopted  $\epsilon\nu\alpha[\rho]\mu\sigma[\sigma\alpha\varsigma \delta\epsilon | \tau\omicron \epsilon\mu\omicron]\nu$  may be suggested.

121.  $\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\iota\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ :  $\epsilon\omicron$  MSS.;  $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau$ . H with Cobet.

124. [ $\eta \delta\epsilon \omega\varsigma$ ]  $\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\nu$ :  $\omega\varsigma \delta\epsilon \epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\nu \eta \pi\alpha\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  MSS.

1251. CICERO, *In Verrem* II. ii AND *Pro Caelio*.

*Pro Caelio* Fol. 1 28.7 × 22.4 cm.

Fifth century.

These fragments evidently belonged to the same MS. as 1097—part of a leaf from a papyrus book containing the end of the *De Imperio Cn. Pompei* and the beginning of the *In Verrem* II. i. The new pieces are fortunately both more extensive and of greater intrinsic value. A small fragment from the commencement of the Second Verrine is comparatively insignificant, but there are also considerable remains of two consecutive leaves from the *Pro Caelio*, a speech which is to the textual critic of unusual interest. For this oration the prime extant authority is a Paris MS. of the ninth century (P), from which are derived, perhaps with a few additions from other sources, three others of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries (e, g, h;  $\pi$  = the consensus of these). Numerous variants from another early MS., now lost, which was in the Cluny monastery, have been preserved, as Clark has recently shown (*Anecd. Oxon.*, Classical Series x, and the preface to his Oxford edition of the speech), in Parisinus 14749 ( $\Sigma$ ), and some extracts made by Bartolomaeus de Montepolitiano from the Cluny MS. have also survived (B). Thirdly, there are fragments of two palimpsests, at Milan (A) and Turin (T), which appear to have stood in close relation to the Cluny text (cf. Clark, *Anecd. Oxon.* x, introd. p. 29). We have thus two main streams of tradition, one represented by a Caroline MS. of early date, the other by a witness which was in all probability pre-Carolingian (Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 17), and at any rate nearly allied to the old palimpsests, which go back to the fourth and fifth centuries. What is the relation between these and the papyrus?

*A priori* this might have been expected to show a strong affinity with  $\Sigma$  and the palimpsests, but this expectation is realized only with considerable limitations. As is so often seen in papyri of extant Greek authors, the text of 1251 proves to be of a remarkably mixed character. Of the certain agreements with  $\Sigma$  (or B) against P and its congeners, the more striking are l. 7 *probem* (*probabam* P), l. 21 *et copiose* (om. P), l. 73 *facis . . . arguis* (om. P), l. 77 *praeceps* (*praecipiti* P), l. 107 *ut* (om. P), l. 140 *libet* (*liquet* P), l. 147 *quoniam* (*quandam* P), l. 166 *labor offendit* (*labore fiendi* P), l. 171 *nihilne* (*nihil* P). On the other hand notable coincidences with P against  $\Sigma$  occur in l. 28 *ne* (*tam ne*  $\Sigma$ ), l. 40 *sed* (*verum*  $\Sigma$ ), l. 87 *parasti* (*paratos*  $\Sigma$ B), l. 94 *disce* (*dissice*  $\Sigma$ ), l. 117 *aliqua* (*alia*  $\Sigma$ T), l. 120 *dicendi* (*verbo-*



*rum* Σ), l. 146 *iam* (*hoc* Σ), l. 154 *quae vestra prudentia est* (*quae vestrae si prudentiae* Σ), l. 167 *hic* (om. Σ), l. 212 *erat* (*fuit* Σ), l. 219 *illa* (*alia* Σ), l. 229 *non* (om. Σ). In l. 22 the reading of P, *habeat*, is written above *habet*, the reading of Σ. With regard to T, three readings hitherto peculiar to that MS. are found, l. 128 *putaverunt* (*putabunt*), l. 234 *locisque* (*locisve*), l. 238 *L. Luc(c)ei testimonium* (*test. L. Luccei*), but these are compensated by divergences in ll. 97, 105, 112, 237. In a few places, too, variants hitherto dependent on one or more of the later authorities (the second hand of P and the members of the πδ group) are reproduced, l. 25 *de praevaricatione* (e), l. 75 *acta* (πδ), l. 80 *tuis* (P<sup>2</sup>πδ), l. 99 *effregit* (P<sup>2</sup>πδ), l. 137 *rei* (eg), l. 158 *disputo* (P<sup>2</sup>πδ), l. 201 *L. Luc(c)ei* (P<sup>2</sup>πδ). In several others, traditional lections which have been emended by modern critics reappear; cf. ll. 3, 4, 38, 78, 83, 99, 209. The readings peculiar to the papyrus are singularly unimportant. Apart from the more obvious errors, of which there is a fair sprinkling (cf. ll. 19, 23, 29, 35, 40, 47, 86, 103, 108, 144, 165, 172), they consist mainly of variations in the order of words (ll. 18, 23, 26, 54, 85, 86-7, 95, 97, 97-8, 221-2) and omissions (ll. 35, 47, 48, 74, 75, 94, 100, 110, 134, 161 (?), 210). There remain l. 15 *eruant* (*evertant*), l. 38 *voluit* (*potuit*, the MSS. reading, is superscribed), 41 *virtute* (*prudentia*), l. 51 *mallet* (*malit*), l. 90 *ac* (*atque*), l. 92 *nequaquam velis* (*nequiquam velim*), l. 94 *decde* (*dide*), l. 96 *cessisse* (*decessisse*), l. 97 *ista maledicta* (*tam maledica*), l. 165 *etiam* (om. MSS.), l. 205 *in* (*ob* Σδ, *ad* P<sup>2</sup>π), none of which carry conviction, though *etiam* in l. 165 might be worth consideration.

To sum up these results, the text of the papyrus is not distinguished by its accuracy, being especially prone to omission; neither is it at all remarkable for valuable readings unknown from other sources. Its salient characteristic is its heterogeneousness. While sharing not seldom the excellences of Σ, it has side by side with these a number of distinctive P readings, some good, others bad, and occasionally carries back to the fifth century the tradition of still later authorities. The high antiquity of the bulk of the variants is the chief lesson of the papyrus.

A description of the script of this MS. has already been given in the introduction to 1097, and it is now only necessary to add a few palaeographical details disclosed by the new fragments. The height of the leaf was there estimated at about 29 cm.; and this is approximately the measurement of Fol. 1, though the margins remaining at the top and bottom are probably not of the full depth, and the leaf may originally have been well over 30 cm. in height. Its breadth is rather greater than was supposed in the case of 1097, being about 23 cm., while the column of writing has a width of about 17 cm. There is a considerable variation in the length of the lines, which are irregular not only at the ends but to some extent also at the beginnings; on the verso of Fol. 1 the column leans over

markedly to the left, whereas on the recto there was apparently a strong tendency in the opposite direction. The scribe was at surprisingly little pains about an even appearance, and would commence one line a couple of letters in front of its predecessor. Owing to these irregularities, the point of division between two lines, when beginning and end are both missing, is often very uncertain. Another characteristic of the writer was a tendency to write *a* and *u* above the line; e. g. ll. 40. 42. 47, 64, 75, 78, 81, 160, 172, and 1097. 60—an instance which in the light of 1251 can now be understood. This suspension of *a* and *u* is found in Latin cursive from the fourth century onwards, and was thence adopted by the 'national' Latin hands. A few abbreviations not already exemplified by 1097 are found, the most noticeable being *t̄m* for *tamen*, *t̄b* for *tibi*, and *iḡ* for *igitur*. It may be remarked that the spelling *-es*, not *-is*, is regularly used in the accusative plural of *i*-stems of the third declension. This and other minor orthographical details like *adque*, *immensa* are not, as a rule, noticed in the appended collation, for which the Oxford edition has been used, supplemented occasionally by that of Baiter-Halm.

*In Verrem* II. ii.

Recto.		Verso.	
· · · · ·		· · · · ·	
] r[e]i frumentariae ]	§ 3	5 potuerit q[ui]	§ 12
Car]tagine deleta ]		] propugnatore[s]q[ue]	
quo]s victoria p[ro] R[ati]		] appareret n̄ t[ame]n	
co]nlocaret		] provinc]iam	
· · · · ·		] m[er]it[um]	
· · · · ·		· · · · ·	

Compared with Peterson's text, the only variant is the spelling *Car]tagine* for *Carthagine*.

*Pro Caelio*.

## Fol. 1. Recto.

]tio illa silves]tris ante [est i]nstituta quam humanitas adq[ue] leges si quidem n̄		
modo nomina de		§ 26
]ferunt inter] se sodales sed et]iam commemorant sodalitatem in accusando ut		
ne quis id		
]forte nescia]t timere videatur [sed hanc omitto] d[icit] illa quae me magis move-		
runt re		§ 27
]spondeo delici]arum obiurgatio ] fuit longa e]t ea [enior plusq[ue] disputationi]s		
ha]buit qua]m		

- 5 [atrocitatis] quo etiam audita ē [atte]nti[us] ] nāq[ue] [P. Clodius amicus m]e[us]  
 c[ui]m sē gravissime  
 [vehem]ent[iss]imeq[ue] iactaret et om[n]ia i[n]flamma[tus] ageret tristissimis ve[r]bis  
 voce  
 [maxi]ma tametsi probem eius eloquentiam tamen [non pertimescebam aliquot]  
 enim in causis [  
 [eum] videram frustra litigante[m t]ē q[ui]tem Balbe [respondeo primu]m  
 [pre]cario si liceat  
 [si fas] est defendi a me eum q[ui] nullum con[vivium] i[n]ierit qui unq[ue]nta  
 sumpserit qui
- 10 [Baia]s viderit equit[er] multos e[st] vidi in hac civitate et [audiv]it nō n[on] modo  
 q[ui] primoribus labris [ § 28  
 [gusta]ssent genus hoc vitae et extremis ut dicitur digiti[s] attingissent se[d] qui  
 totam adu  
 [lesce]ntiam voluptatib[us] d[ed]issent emersiss[et]e aliquando et se ad bonam f[rugem]  
 ut dicitur rēcep[er]it  
 [se gravesq[ue]] homines [atq[ue] i]nlust[re]s fuisse datur en[im] concessu omni[um] huic  
 aliqui  
 [ludus] aetati et ip[s]a natura prof[undit] adulescentiae cu[m] p[ro]ditates quae si i[n]ta  
 erumpunt ut
- 15 [nullius] vitam lab[or]e[re]f[ect]e[n]t [nullius] domum eruant [faciles et tolerabiles] ha[ber]i  
 solent  
 [sed tu] mihi vid[ebare] ex communi infam[ia] iuventutis ali[quam] invidiam  
 Caelio vel[le] con § 29  
 flare itaq[ue] o[mn]ne illud silentium quod ē orationi tr[ib]utum tuae fuit ob eam  
 cau[sam] quod  
 uno proposi[t]o reo de multorum vitiis co[n]gitabamus [facile est accusare  
 luxurie]m dies iam  
 me confociat si [qu]ae [dici] in eam sententiam poss[unt] coner expromere de  
 cor[ruptel]is [de]
- 20 [adul]ter[is] d[e] p[ro]ter[itate] de s[umpt]ib[us] immensa o[ratio] est ut tibi reum  
 neminem sed vitia [.]  
 [prop]onas res t[ame]n ipsa et copiose et graviter accusari pot[est] sed vestrae  
 sapientiae iud[ic] est nō  
 [abduci] ab reo nec quos ac[er]uleos habet severitas gravitasq[ue] vestra cum eos  
 accusator erexerit  
 [in] rem in vitia in nōq[ue] in tempore in hominem et in re[um] emittere cum is  
 nō suo crimine sed mul  
 [torum] vitio sit in quoddam odium iniustum vocatus itaq[ue] ego severitati tuae  
 ita ut oportet § 30

- 25 [tet responder]e n̄ audeo erat enim meum de praecvarica]tione adulescentiae  
ven]am  
[q> petere non inquam aude]o n̄ perfugiis utor aetatis concessa [o]mn]ibus i]ura  
d]imitto tant]um  
[peto ut si qua ē invidia com]munis hoc tempore aeris alieni petulantiae  
libidinum in]ven]i  
[tutis quam video eē magn]am ne huic aliena peccata ne aetatis ac temporum  
vitia  
[noceant atq> ego idem qui h]aec postulo quae in criminib[us] quae in hunc proprie  
feruntur
- 30 [diligentissime respondeam n̄ rec]uso sunt autem duo crimina auri et veneni in  
quib[us] una  
[adq> eadem persona versatur a]urum sumptum a Clodia venenum quesitum quod  
[Clodiae daretur dicitur omnia su]nt talia n̄ crimina sed maledicta iurgii  
petulantis  
[magis quam publicae quaestionis a]dulter impudicus sequester convicium ē non  
accusatio  
[nullum ē enim fundamentum ho]rum criminum nul]laq[ue] sedes voces sunt  
contumeliosae
- 35 [temere ab irato accusatore emis]so horum duorum criminum video  
fontem § 31  
[video auctorem video certum nome]n et cap]it auro opus fuit sumpsit a Clodia  
sumpsit sine  
[teste habuit quamdiu voluit maximum vi]deo signum cuiusdam egregiae  
familiari  
[tatis necare candem voluit quaesivit] venenum sollicitavit quos [[v̄]o[[l]]uit  
paravit  
[locum constituit attulit magnum ru]sus odium video cum crudelissimo discidio  
extisse
- 40 [res ē omnis in hac causa nobis iud]icium Clodia mulieri non solum nobili sed  
etiam nota de qua  
[ego nihil dicam nisi depellendi crimin]is causa sed intellegis pro tua praestanti  
virtute § 32  
[Cn. Domiti cum hac sola rem eē n]obis quae si [[s]] se aurum Caelio commodasse  
n̄ dicit si venen]um  
[ab hoc sibi paratum eē non ar]guit] petulanter facimus si matrem familiam  
secus quam  
[matronarum sancti]ta[s] post]ulat nominamus sin ista muliere remota nec  
crimen

- 45 *ull[um] nec opes ad opp[ro]gnand[um] Caelium illis relinquin[t]ur q[uid] ē ali[ud] quod nos patroni  
facere debcamus nisi ut eos qui insectantur repellam[us] qu[od] q[uidem] face[re]m  
vehementius  
nisi inter[ced]erent inimicitiae cum istis mulieris viro fra[tre]m volui dicere  
s[emper] hic er[ro] n[on]c  
[agam] modice nec long[ue] [prog]rediar quam mea fid[es] et causa ipsa coget  
nec enim muliebres i[n]i  
[micitias mihi gerendas puta]vi praesertim cum ea q[ua]m omnes semper amicam  
omnium]*
- 50 *potius quam cuiusquam inim[ica]m putaverunt: se[d] tamen ex ipsa quaeram  
prius utrum me secu[m] § 33  
severe et graviter et prisce age[re] mallet an remiss[e] et leniter et urbane sin  
illo austro more ac]  
modo aliquis mihi ab inferis excitandus est ex ba[r]batis illis non hac barbula  
qua ista delceta  
[tur sed illa horrida qua]m in statu[s] antiquis adq[ue] imaginibus videmus qui  
obiurget mulierem  
[et qui pro me loquatur ne mihi] forte ista suscenseat [existat igitur ex hac  
ipsa familia aliquis*
- 55 *[ac potissimum Caccus ille] minim[um] enim dolorem [capiet qui istam non  
videbit qui profecto si  
[existiterit sic aget ac sic l]oquetur m[ulier] quid t[ibi] cu[m] Caelio quid cum homine  
adulescentulo  
[quid cum alieno cur aut t]am [familia]ris huic fuis[ti] ut aurum commodares  
aut tam ini  
[mica] ut venenum timeres no[n] pa[tre]m tuum] videra[s] n[on] patrum n[on] avum  
proavum atavum audieras  
[consules fuisse n[on] deniq[ue] mod[ico] te [Q. Mete]lli matr[imonium] tenuisse sciebas  
clarissimi ac § 34*
- 60 *[fortissimi viri patriae]q[ue] ama[n]tissimi qui sim[ul] ac pedem limine extulerat  
omnes prope  
[cives] virtute gloria digni[tate] superabat cum [ex amplissimo genere in familiam  
claris  
[simam] nupsisses cur tibi] Caelius tam coniunctus [fuit cognatus affinis viri tui  
familiaris nihil  
[corum] quid igitur fuit nisi] quaedam temeritas a[c] libido nonne te si nostrae  
imagines viriles n[on] com  
[movebant] ne progenies quidem] me<sup>a</sup> Qui[nta] illa C[laudia] aemulam domesticae  
laudis in*

- 65 [gloria muliebri esse admo]nebat [non vir]go [i]ll[us] Vestalis Claudia quae patrem  
 complexa  
 [triumphantem ab inimico tr'] pl' de [curru detrahi passa n̄ est cur te fraterna  
 vitia po  
 [tius quam bona paterna et avita] et usq[ue] [a nobis cum in viris tum in feminis  
 repetita moverunt ideone ego pacem  
 [Pyrrhi diremi ut tu amorum tu]rpissim[orum cotidie foedera ferires ideo aquam  
 adduxi  
 [ut ea tu inceste uterere ide]o via[m] munivi ut cam tu alienis viris comitata  
 celebrares sed § 35

## Verso.

- 70 [quid ego iud] ita gravem personam induxi ut verear ne se idem Ap]pius repente  
 co[n]vertat et Caclium  
 [incipiat accusare illa sua gravitate censoria sed videro hoc p]osterius adq[ue] ita  
 iud[ic] ut vel severissimis  
 d[is]cept[is]ato[ribus] M. Caeli vitam me prob]atur[um eē] cō[n]fida[m] tu vero mulier  
 i[am] enim ipse tecum  
 nulla pe[r]sona [introduc]ta loquor si ea qu[ae] facis quae d[ic]is quae insimilas  
 quae moliris qu[ae] arguis  
 probare co[n]gitas rationem tantae fam[il]i[ar]itatis tantae consuetudinis reddas  
 a[de]q[ue] exponas  
 75 necesse e[st] accusatores quidem l[ib]idines ad[ul]t[er]i[a] Baias acta conviv[ia]  
 cō[m]m[un]i[ssationes]  
 cantus s[ym]p[honia]s nav[is]igia iactant[ur] idemq[ue] sig[n]ificant nihil se t[ibi] invita  
 dicere quae [tu] quoniam  
 mente nescio qua effrenata adq[ue] pra]eceptis in f[orum] deferri iudiciumq[ue] voluis-  
 t[ibi] aut diluas oportet  
 aut falsa esse doc[eas aut nihil] neq[ue] [crimini] tuo [neq[ue] testimonio c]redendum  
 eē fateare s[ed] in autem § 36  
 urbanus me [agere mavis si]c ag[am tecu]m i[tem] i[tem] movebo illu[m] senem durum ac  
 pauc[us] agrestem  
 80 ex his igitur tu[is] sumam aliquem ac potissimu[m] min[imum] fratrem] qui est  
 [in is]to gen[ere] urbanissimus  
 qui te amat plu[rimum] qui propter \*nescio qu[am] [credo timidi]tat[em] c[on]t[ra]  
 nocturnos quosdam ina-  
 nes metus [te]u[m] semper pusio cum m[ai]ore sorore cubi[us] avit eni[m] [putato tecum  
 loqui quid tu

- multu[aris soror quid insanis quid cla]more exorsa ver[bis parvam rem magnam  
 facis vicinum  
 adulesce[ntulum aspexisti candor huius t]e et proceritas v[oltus oculiq]u pepu-  
 lerunt sapius videre*
- 85 *voluisti [fuiſti n̄ numquam in isdem hortis] vis mulier n[obilis illum filium  
 familias patre parco et  
 tenaci h[abere tuis copiis devinctum n̄ potes] calciat r[esp]u[er]it n̄ [putat tua do]nā  
 ē[re] tanti confer alio  
 te hab[es hortos ad Tiberim ac diligenter] eo loco parasti quo omnis iube[n]tus  
 [nataudi causa venit  
 hinc licet condiciones cotidie legas cur] huic qui te spernit molesta e[s] redeo  
 nunc ad te Caeli* § 37
- v[icissim ac mihi auctoritatem patria]m severitatemq[ue] suscipio sed dūb[ito] quem  
 patrem potissimum*
- 90 *s[un]t[am] Caecilianumne aliquem] vehementem ac durum nunc en[im] demum  
 mihi animus ardet  
 [nunc meum cor cumulatur ira aut i]llum o infelix o sceleste ferrei sun[t] i[s]ti  
 p[atres egone quid dicam  
 [quid velim quae tu omnia tuis foed]is facis ut nequaquam velis vix fe[rendi  
 diceret talis pater cur  
 [e] in i[st]am v[icinitatem mer]etriciam contulisti cur inlecebris [cognitis n̄  
 refugisti cur alienam  
 ulla[m] mulier[e]m n[os]ti decede ac disce per me si egebis t[ibi] dolebit [mihi sat est  
 qui actatis quod reliqu*
- 95 *um est oblectem meae huic seni [[a]] tristi ac derecto responderet C[aelius] se  
 nulla cupiditate inductum* § 38
- de via e[[a]]ssisse quid signi nulli sumptus nulla i[a]cti[r]a nu[lla] versura at  
 fuit fama quotus  
 quisq[ue] istam potest effugere in ista maledicta civitat[e] vicinum eius mulieris  
 male audisse  
 miraris cuius frater germanus sermones iniquorum [effugere non potuit leni  
 vero et clementi  
 patri cuius modi ille est fores effregit restituentur di[scidit] vestem resarcietur  
 filii causa est*
- 100 *expeditissima quid enim esset in quo se facile defe[n]deret nihil iam in istam  
 mulierem dico sed si esset  
 aliqua dissimilis istius quae se omnib[us] p[er]vo[l]garet [quae haberet palam decre-  
 tum semper aliquem  
 cuius in hortos domum Baias iure suo libidines omn[ium] co]m[m]earent quae  
 etiam aleret*

- adulescentes et parsimonia patrum su[us] sumpt[ibus] suste[n]taret si vidua libere  
 proterva petu  
 lanter dives effuse libidinosa meretricio more v[ivere]t ad[ulterum] ego putarem  
 si quis hanc*
- 105 *paulo liberius salutasset dicet aliquis haec ig. ē tu[a discip]l[us]na sic tu  
 instituis adulescentes* § 39  
*ob hanc causam t[ame]n hunc puerum parens commendavit [et tr]ad[idi]t u[bi]t in amore  
 adq[ue] in voluptatibus  
 adulescentiam suam collocaret et ut han[c] tu vita[m] a[du]q[ue] ha[ec] studia de-  
 fenderes ego si quis  
 ind[ig]e hoc robore animi adq[ue] haec indole virtutis adq[ue] con[ti]n[en]tia[m] fuit ut  
 respueret omnes  
 voluptates omnemq[ue] suae vitae cursum in labore corporis a[d]q[ue] in animi  
 contentione conficeret*
- 110 *quem n[on] quies n[on] remissio n[on] aequalium studia n[on] ludi n[on] conviv[ia] [delectarent  
 nisi quod esset  
 cum laudē et cum dignitate coniunctum hunc mea sententia d[omi]n[us] quibusdam  
 bonis instructum  
 adq[ue] ornatum p[ro]uto ex hoc] genere illos fuisse arbitror Camillo[s] Fab[ricios]  
 Curios omnesq[ue] eos qui  
 hae ex minim[is] tanta] fe[ce]runt] verum haec genera virtu[tum] non solum  
 in morib[us] nostris* § 40  
*sed vix iam in l[ib]ris reperiuntur] chartae quoq[ue] quae illam [pristinam severi-  
 tatem continebant*
- 115 *[obsoleveru]nt neq[ue] solum apud nos qui h[anc] sectam ration[em]q[ue] vitae re magis  
 quam verbis secuti  
 [sumus sed etiam apud Graecos docti]ssimos homines quib[us] [cum facere non  
 possent loqui tamen et  
 [scribere honeste et magnifice licebat] aliq[ui]a quaedam [mutatis Graeciae tempo-  
 ribus praecepta ex  
 [stiterunt itaq[ue] alii voluptatis causa o]mn[ia] sapientes fac[ere] d[omi]nerunt neq[ue] ab  
 hac orationis* § 41  
*[turpitudine eruditi homines refugeru]nt alii cum voluptate d[igni]tatem  
 coniungen*
- 120 *[dam putaverunt ut res maxime inter se r]epugnantes dicendi fa[c]cultate  
 coniungerent  
 [illud unum directum iter ad laudem cu]m labore qui probaberu[n]t prope soli  
 iam in scholis  
 [sunt relict]i multa enim nobis blandime[n]ta natura ip[s]a g[er]m[ina]vit [quib[us] sopita  
 virtus coniveret*



- [interdum multas vias adolescenti]ae lubricas [ostendi]t q[ui]b[us] illa insistere aut ingredi  
 [sine casu aliquo ac prolapsione vix p]osset mult[arum reru]m [iucundissimarum  
 varieta  
 125 [tem dedit qua n̄ modo haec aetas sed etiam ia]m corr[oborata] cap[eretur] quam  
 ob rem si quem § 42  
 [forte inveneritis qui aspernetus ocul]is pulchritu[din]em [rerum n̄ odore ullo n̄  
 tactu  
 [n̄ sapore capiatu]r excludat aurib[us] omni]em suavitat[e]m hu[ic] homini ego fortasse  
 et pauci  
 [deos propitios pleriq[ue] autem iratos pu]taverunt ergo [haec deserta via et  
 inculta  
 [adq[ue] interclusa iam frondib[us] et vir]gultis relin]quatur detur aliqui ludus  
 aetati sit adu  
 130 [lescentia liberior n̄ omnia voluptatib[us] de]ne[ge]n[tur] n̄ se]mper [superet vera  
 illa et directa  
 [ratio vincat aliquando cupiditas voluptasq[ue] r]ation[em] dum modo illa in hoc  
 genere  
 [praescriptio moderatioq[ue] teneatur parcat iu]ventus [pudicitiae suae ne spoli]et  
 alienam  
 [ne effundat patrimonium ne faenore trucidetur] ne in]currat in alterius domum  
 adq[ue]  
 [familiam ne probrum castis labem integris infam]iam [on]is inferat ne intersit  
 insidiis scelere

## Fol. 2. Verso.

- 135 [careat postremo cu]m par[uerit] voluptatib[us] de]derit [aliquid temporis ad ludum  
 aetatis  
 [adq[ue] ad i]nanes [hasce] adulesc[e]n[tiae] cupiditates r]ev[ocet] se aliquando ad  
 cur[am] rei d[omi]ni  
 [mest]i[ca]e rei forensis rei p[ro] ut e[ss]et q[ui]a[rum] ratione antea n̄ perspexerat satiet]ate  
 abiecisse  
 [expe]riendo contempsisse vide[at]ur a[ut] multi et nostra et patrum maiorumq[ue]  
 memoria iud[ic]i[um] ho § 43  
 [min]es et clar[is]simi cives fue[runt] quorum [cum adolescentiae] cup[er]idita]tes  
 [def]er]vissent  
 140 e[xi]miae virtutes firmata iam aetate exti[terunt] ex quib[us] neminem mi]hi lib[er]et  
 nominare  
 v[os]met vobiscum recordamini nolo e[nim] cuiusquam forti]s adq[ue] inlus[tri]s  
 vir[is] ne

[min]imum qđ erratum cum maxi[ma laude coniungere]. quod si facere  
vellem m<sup>ulti</sup>

a [m]e summi adq̄ ornatissim[i viri praedicarentur quo]rum pa[rtim n]imiam  
liber

[ta]s in adolescentia partim p[ro]fusa luxuries mag[ni]tudo a[eris alieni su]mptib[us]  
libi

145 [din]es nominarentur quae m[ultis postea virtut]ibus obiecta adolescentia]e qui  
vellet

e[xc]usatione defende[ret] at ver[o in M. Caelio dica]m enim i[am confidenti]us  
de studiis

§ 44

e[iu]s [h]one[stis] quoniam [aude]o qu[aedam fretu]s vestra s[apientia libere]  
confiter]i nulla

[luxuries reperietur n]ull[us] [sump]tu[s nullu]m aes alienum [nulla conviviorum ac]  
lustru]rum

[libido quod qđ vitium ventris et gurgitis n] modo n̄ min[uit] aetas hominib[us]  
sed etiam a]ugget

150 [amores autem et deliciae quae vocant]ur quae f[ir]miori animo praeditis  
diut]ius

[molestae n̄ solent eē mature enim et cel]eriter d[e]florescunt numquam hunc  
oc]cu

[patum impeditumq̄ tenuerunt aud]istis e]um pro se [diceret audistis antea]  
cum a]ccu

§ 45

[saret defendendi haec causa n] gloriandi loquor [genus orationis facultatem]  
cop]iam

[sententiarum adq̄ verborum q]uae vestra pruden[tia e]s[t] perspexistis adq̄ in  
eo n̄ solu]m

155 [ingenium elucere eius v]ide[bi]tis quod saepe etiam si in[dustria n̄ alitur valet]  
tamen ip[su]m

[suis virib[us] sed inerat nisi] me [p]ropter benivolentiam f[orte fallebat ratio et]  
bonis artib[us]

[instituta et cur]a et [v]igiliis elaborata atqui sci[tote iud] eas cupid]i-  
tates

[quae obiciuntur Caelio a]dq̄ [ha]ec studia de quib[us] disputo n̄ facile in [co]m[m]o[ni]  
h]omine

[eē posse fieri enim n̄ po]tes[t] a]nimus libidini deditus amore des[er]derio  
cupidate

160 [saepe nimia copia inopia] et[ia]m n̄ nu[m]quam impeditus hoc quidquid est quod  
nos facim[us]

[non modo agendo verum et]ia[m] c[ogita]nd]o possit sustinere an vos aliam  
causam

§ 46

[esse ullam putatis cur i]n [tant]is p[rae]miis] eloquentiae tanta voluptate  
dic[e]ndi

[tanta laude tanta gratia tan]to honore tam sint pauci semperq[ue] fuerint qui  
in hoc

[labore versentur obtere]n[dae su]nt omnes voluptates reliquenda<sup>n</sup> studia  
delectationis

165 [ludus iocus convivium s]er[mo es]t paene etiam familiarum deserendus. qua re  
in hoc

[genere labor offendi]t h[omi]nes a st[ud]ioq[ue] [d]eterret non quo aut ingenia  
def[ici]ant

[aut doctrina pueril]is an[im]i hic s[er] se [is]t[em]p[or]e vita[e d]edisset con[s]ularem] homi-  
nem ad

§ 47

[modum adulescens i]n [iudici]um vo[ca]visse[t] hic si lab[or]em fugeret si o[bi]-  
s[er]vatus

[voluptatib[us] teneretur in ha]c a[c]t[us] die v[er]saretur a[pp]eteret in]i[m]i-  
citas in

170 [iudicium vocaret subiret p]er[i]culu[m] capi[is] ipse insp[ectante] p[er] R[ati]o[n]em tot iam  
menses aut

[de salute aut de gloria dimi]n[ue]ret [nihil] ille i]g[itur] illa vic[initas] redolet nihilne  
hominum

[fama nihil Baiae deniq[ue] ipsae loqui]nt[ur] illae [ve]ro n[on] loq[ui]nt[ur] solum verum  
etiam

[personant huc unius mulier]is lib[er]tatem [et] prolapsa[m] ut ea n[on] modo  
solitudinem

[ac tenebras adq[ue] haec flagiti]o[rum] i]ntegritate n[on] quaerat sed in turpis-  
simis

175 [rebus frequentissima cele]b[er]itate et c[ele]b[er]issima luce lactetur verum  
si quis

§ 48

[est qui etiam meretriciis am]orib[us] i]nter[dit]um in[ventuti] putet est  
ille qui

[dem valde severus negare n]on p[ro]sum] sed a[bs]orret n[on] [modo ab huius saeculi  
licen

[tia verum etiam a maiorum co]n[s]uetudin[e] a[ds]q[ue] con[cessis] quando enim hoc n[on]  
factum e[st]

[quando reprehensum quando n]on permissum q[ui]an[do] deniq[ue] [fuit ut quod licet  
non lice

180 [ret hic ego iam rem definiam mulierem n]ullam [nominabo tantum in medio  
relin

[quam si quae n]on nupta mulier domum suam pate]fecerit q[ui]n[on] cupiditati  
palamq[ue]

§ 49

[sese in meretricia vita conlocarit viroru]m alieni[ssimorum conviviiis  
 uti in  
 [stituerit si hoc in urbe si in hortis si in Ba]iaru[m] illa celebritate faciat  
 si deniq[ue]  
 [ita sese gerat n̄ incessu solum sed ornatu adq[ue] c]om[un]i[ta]tu n̄ flagrantia  
 oculorum n̄  
 185 [libertate sermorum sed etiam complexu osc]ulatio[ne] actis navigatione  
 convi  
 [viiis ut n̄ solum meretrix sed etiam proterva] n[on] meretrix procaxq[ue] videatur cum  
 hac si  
 [qui adulescens forte fuerit utrum hic tibi L. H]erenni adulter an amator  
 expugnare  
 [pudicitiam an explere libidinem voluisse v]id[etur]

## Fol. 2. Recto.

[sunt enim crimina una i]n mu[li]ere summorum fa[ct]io[rum] auri quod  
 sumptum § 51  
 200 [a Clodia dicitur et veneni] qu[od] eiusdem Clodiae] necc[us]dae [c]aus[us] a  
 parasse Cae  
 [i]u[m] [criminantur aurum s]u[m]psit ut dicitis] qu[od] L. Lucei servus da[ret]  
 p[er] quos Ale  
 xandrinu[s] Dio qui tum apud Luccium habitabat] n[on] caret]ur magnum crim[en]  
 vel in  
 legat[is] insidia]ndis [vel in servis ad hospite]m [do]mini n[on] e[st] andum soll[ic]itandis  
 p[ro]lenum sce  
 le[ris] co[n]siliu[m] plenu[m] audaciae quo qd̄ i]n crimine primum illud re[qui]r[is]  
 dixeritne Clodiae [ § 52  
 205 qu[am] in rem aurum [sumeret an n̄ dixer]it si n̄ dixit cur dedit si dixit  
 eodem se  
 conscientiae scelere devinxit tunc aurum ex] armario tuo promere ausa es  
 tu Venerem  
 illam spolia[re or]namenti[s] spoliatricem ceteror]um cum scires quantum ad  
 facinus  
 aurum h[oc] quaerere]t[ur] a[d] ne]c[em] [legati ad L. Lucei s]antissimi hominis  
 adq[ue] integerrimi  
 labem s[celeris] sempite[r]ni huic fa[ct]io[n]i tanto tua] mens liberalis conscia tua  
 domus  
 210 popular[is] ministra tua d[en]iq[ue] hos]pitalis illa Ve]nus ad]i[n]tri]x e[st] deb[uit]  
 vidit hoc Balbus § 53

- cel[atam eē Clodiam dixit] adq[ ita C[aelium ad i]llam [att]ulisse se ad o[r]nat[um  
 l]udoru[m]  
 a[urum quaerere si tam fa]miliaris era[t Clodiae quam tu] e[ē] vis cum de  
 libidi[ne] e[ī]us tam  
 n[ulta] dicis dixit pro]fecto quo v[ellet] aurum si tam familiar[is] n̄  
 er[at n̄  
 d[edit ita si verum tibi Caeliu]s dixit [o immoderata mulier sciens t]u aurum  
 a[d] faci  
 215 n[us dedisti si n̄ e ausus dicere] n̄ dedi[sti quid ego nunc argumentis huic  
 crimini  
 [quae sunt innumerabilia re]sistam p[oss]um [dicere mores M. Caeli longis-  
 sime  
 [a tanti sceleris atrocitate eē d]i[si]unctos minime e[ē] c[redendum] homini  
 tam in  
 [genioso tamq[ prudenti n̄ v]enisse in mentem rem [t]an[ti] sceleris ignotis  
 alie  
 [nisq[ servis n̄ eē credenda]m[ poss]um etiam illa et c[e]t[er]o[r]u[m] patronorum et  
 mea con  
 220 [suetudine ab accusatore] perquirere ubi sit congressus cum servi[s] Lucei Caelius  
 qui ei  
 fu[erit aditus] s[ic] p[er] se qua temeritate si p[er] alium p[er] [quem poss]um omnes  
 suspi  
 cio[nu]m [la]tebras peragrare dicendo n̄ causa n̄ l[ocu]s n̄ [facultas n̄ conscius  
 n̄ p[er]fi  
 ciendi n̄ occultandi maleficii spes n̄ ratio ulla n̄ v[estigium] maximi facinoris  
 reperietur  
 sed haec quae sunt oratoris propria quae [mih]i n̄ propter ingenium meum sed  
 propter § 54  
 225 hanc exercitationem usumq[ dicend[um]] fructum [aliquem ferre potuissent cum  
 a me  
 ipso elaborata proferri viderentur bre[uitatis] causa relinquo omnia  
 habeo enim iud[icem] quem vos socium vestrae re[ligionis] iurisq[ iurandi] facile  
 [e]e patiamini L. Luceium sanctissimum gra[vis]simu[m] [qui tantum facinus in  
 famam adq[  
 [in] fortunas suas neq[ n̄ audisset [i]n[la]tum [a] Cael[io] neq[ neglexisset neq[  
 tulisset an  
 230 [ille vir i]ll[ia] hum[anitate] p[ra]editu[s] illi[s] studiis artib[us] adq[ doctrina] illius  
 ipsius  
 [periculum] quem propter] haec ip[s]a s[tudia] [diligebat] neglegere potuisset et  
 quod*

2 lines lost.

234 [neglegeret quod in agris] locisq̄ p̄[ublicis

2 lines lost.

237 [ipsius iurati religionē]m auct[or]it[at]emq̄ percipite adq̄ omnia diligenter testi § 55

[monii verba cognoscite recita] L[ucei] testimoni[on]ium quid expectatis

[amplius an aliquam vocem] putat[is] ip[s]am p̄[ro] se

3 lines lost.

[ex inimica ex infami ex c]rudeli ex facin[eros]a ex libidinosa domo domus autem illa quae tem

[ptata eē scelere isto nefa]r[is]o d[ic]itur

245 [ 21 letters ] . . . . . [

Fragments.

1. Recto.

2. Recto.

2. Verso.

]nestis[

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]an[

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3. Recto.

3. Verso.

4. Recto.

4. Verso.

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. . .

3. videatur : so Pπδ ; videantur Abram, C(lark).

The a supposed to belong to ad may well be assigned to omittam, the reading of Pπδ ; omitto Σ.

4. e] ea : so Pπδ ; et eo Kayser, etiam C. Σ has alienior for lenior.

7. probem : so Σ ; probabam other MSS., C.

9. That the papyrus agreed with Σeg in reading inierit is uncertain, but the shortness

of the letter after *con]vivium* is in favour of *i* as against *r*; *renuerit* C. with *hδ*, *reminuerit* P.

*qui in hortis fuerit*, which is added by Donatus before *qui unguenta sumpserit*, was evidently omitted as in Pπδ.

12. *d[edissent* (Pπδ) suits the size of the lacuna much better than *d[edidissent* (Ascens. 3, C.). *bonam f]rugem : frugem bonam* MSS.

15. *eruant : evertant* MSS.

18. *proposi[ro reo : reo proposito* MSS. But possibly *reo* was omitted altogether.

19. *confociat* is a curious corruption of *deficiat*. The papyrus may, however, be taken to support P in the subjunctive as against the *deficiet* of πδ.

20. *ipsa* added by Σ after *vitia (ista C.)* seems to have been omitted, as in Pπδ.

21. The abbreviation of *tamen* is uncertain, the stroke above being lost and the *m* especially not clear.

*et copiose*: so Σ; om. Pπδ.

*iud(ices) est*: the traditional order is confirmed; *est iudices* Halm.

22. *habet*, as originally written, is the reading of Σ, *habeat* Pπδ; an *a* has apparently been added above the line in darker ink.

23. *tempore*: l. *tempora*. In the accepted text *emittere* precedes *in hominem*.

24. That the papyrus agreed with Σ in inserting *ego* and reading *ita ut oportet (ut oportet ita Pπδ)* is of course uncertain.

25. *de praevaricatione*: so *e (prev.)*, *deprecationem* g; *deprecari vacationem* P, C. That the papyrus had *depraevaricari* for *deprecari* is less likely.

26. *n(on) perfugiis : perfugiis non Pπδ, perfugiis nihil* Σ, C.

28. In omitting *tamen* the papyrus agrees with Pπδ; *tam* Σ, *tamen* Wrampelmeyer, C.

29. *quae in criminib(us) : l. quin criminib(us)*.

32. *ut (Σ)* may well have been omitted, as in Pπδ.

*talia*: so Σ; *alia* other MSS. C., *illa* Ernesti.

*petulantis*: the final letter, if it was written, has almost entirely disappeared; perhaps it was omitted.

34. There is little doubt that *nullae* (Σ, C.) not *nulla* (Pπδ) was the reading of the papyrus, for though the *e* is indistinct, *nulla* does not fill the space.

35. The text was apparently corrupt here. The ordinary reading is *ab irato accusatore (arbitratu accusatoris b<sup>2</sup>ψ) nullo auctore emissae*. This, however, is much too long for the lacuna, and the homoeoteleuton may easily have caused the loss of *nullo auctore*; and ]so is clear where ]sae is expected. Possibly an attempt at construction was made by the omission of *ab*.

35-6. *fontem [video auctorem*: so Pπδ; *auctorem video fontem* C. with Σ.

38. The alteration of *voluit* to *potuit* was apparently made by the original scribe. *potuit* is the reading of Pπδ, *voluit* being unattested elsewhere. C. adopts Bährens's *servos, potionem for quos potuit*.

39. The reading of Pπδ completely fills the lacuna; Σ has *quam* before *locum*, whence C. restores *clam attulit*. l. *exstitisse*.

40. l. *muliere*. *sed* is also found in Pπδ; *verum* C. with Σ and Quintilian,

41. *virtute : prudentia* MSS.

43. Whether a mark above the final *m* of *familiam* is rightly interpreted as an interlineated *s* is very doubtful; *familias* MSS.

45. *Caesium*: so apparently the papyrus, with Pπδ; *M. Caesium* Σ, C.

46. *quod quidem*: or perhaps *quod [quod (ui)d(em)*, with a space after *repellam[us]*.

47. *istiis* is a slip for *istiis*. *mihi*, which the MSS. add after *intercederent*, is omitted.

48. *mea : me mea* MSS.

*muliebris unquam* is the ordinary reading, but this seems to be too much for the lacuna, and some omission is likely, the space at the beginning of the next line being sufficiently filled by the words in their usual order. It is fairly certain that *mihi* did not precede *inimicitias* as in  $\Sigma$ .

49. *cum ea*: om. Quintilian.

51. *mallet*: *malit* MSS.

54. There is room for *qui* ( $\Sigma$ ) after *et*, but the papyrus may have agreed with  $P\pi\delta$  in omitting it.

*forte ista*: *ista forte* MSS.

57. *huic*: so  $P\pi\delta$ ; *huius*  $\Sigma B$ , om. Severianus, C.

58. Considerations of space make it likely that the papyrus was here in agreement with  $P\pi\delta$ .  $\Sigma B$  have *non proavum non atavum non*; *non proav. non abavum non atav.* C.

67. The line is abnormally long even with the omission of *etiam*, which is the only word that can well be spared. It is thus pretty clear that the papyrus had no longer verb than *moverunt*, which has been suspected.

73. *facis . . . arguis*: so  $\Sigma b^2 \psi^2$  (*quae* before *moliris* om.  $b^2$ , *quae insimulas* om.  $\psi^2$ ); om.  $P^1$ ; *facis quae dicis quae in sororem tuam moliris quae argumenta*  $P^2\pi\delta$ . Halm's condemnation of *facis . . . arguis* as a 'pannus intolerabilis' constructed by 'homines Itali' out of the reading of  $P^2\pi\delta$  was not happy.

74. The papyrus omits *tantae coniunctionis* which the MSS. read before *reddas*.

75. *libidines*: *libidines amores* MSS. If *quidem* was abbreviated *q̄*, *amores* may have preceded *libidines*.

*acta*: so  $\pi\delta$ ; *actas* P, C.

At the end of the line some alternative for or correction of *comissiones* was apparently interlineated.

77. *pra]iceps*: so  $\Sigma$ ; *praccipiti* others, C.

78. *aut*: so  $P\pi\delta$ ; *ac* C., with Halm.

80. *his igitur tu]is*: so  $P^2\pi\delta$ ; om. *tuis*  $P^1$ , C., *istis tuis* Madvig.

82. Above the supposed *m* of *eu]m* there is a mark rather like an *a*, but this is unintelligible and may be due to accident.

83. *cla]more*: so  $P\pi\delta$ ; *clamorem* Ribbeck, C.

85. *vis*: so  $P^1$ , C.; *visa*  $P^2\pi\delta$ .

*mulier n]obilis*: *nobilis mulier* MSS.

86. *calciat*: l. *calcitrat*; cf.  $P^1$ , which has *calcitat*. The remains of letters further on in the line are doubtfully identified, but the omission of *repellit* ( $\Sigma B$ ) after *respuat* appears probable. *esse dona* is the order of  $\Sigma$ .

86-7. *alio] te*: *te alio* MSS.

87. *parasti*: so P; *praeparasti*  $\pi\delta$ , *paratos*  $\Sigma B$ , C. For the spelling *iube]ntus* cf. l. 121 *probaberu]nt*.

90. *ac*: *atque* MSS.

91. The line is sufficiently filled without *egone*, which is repeated by  $P\pi\delta$  before *quid velim* and was removed by Spengel; but that *egone* was omitted in the papyrus is of course wholly uncertain.

92. *nequaquam velis*: *nequiquam velim* MSS.

93. *alienam*, which  $\Sigma$  omits, apparently stood in the papyrus.

94. *decede*: *dide* MSS. (*dede*  $P^2$ , *dideae* g, *dii deae* e).

*disce*: so  $P\pi\delta$ ; *dissice*  $\Sigma$  Puteanus, C.

*per me*: *per me licebit* P, *per me licet* others, *per me tibi licet* Francken, C.

The termination of *dolebit* is doubtful, the *b* especially being questionable. The



following lacuna is well filled without Francken's addition *non mihi* after *dolebit*. At the end of the line the division of *reliquum* is curious, but there is no known variant.

95. *seni tristi ac derecto: tristi ac derecto seni* MSS.

96. l. *cessisse: decessisse* MSS.

97. *quisq(ue)*: so C. with BP<sup>2</sup>πδ (P<sup>1</sup> omits *se nulla . . . in tam*); *quisque est qui* T. *potest effugere: praesertim effugere potest* ΣB, *effugere potest* other MSS.; *effugere potest, praesertim* C., *effugere possit* Halm.

*ista maledicta: tam maledica* MSS.; *maledica* is obviously right.

97-8. *male audisse] miraris: miraris male audisse* MSS.

99. *patri*: so Pπδ; *patre* Schwartz, C.

*effregit*: so P<sup>2</sup>πδ; *etfregit* P<sup>1</sup>, *ecfregit* Müller, C.

100. *facile: non facile* MSS.; cf. l. 210.

103. l. *parsimoniam. sustentaret* seems to have been the reading of the papyrus, not *sustineret*, which C. adopts from Σ.

105. *ig(itur) e(st)*: so most MSS. and Quintilian; *est igitur* T.

106. *l(i)b(i) hunc puerum parens: parens tibi hunc puerum* Σ.

107. *ut*: so TΣ, C.; om. Pπδ.

108. *haec*: l. *hac*. The first two letters seem to have been altered from [i]n. and it is noticeable that T has *in hac*; but the scribe may merely have begun to write *indole* too soon.

*adq[ue]*: *ad* from *adq*. T, *atque* Halm, *ac* BPπδ, C.

109. *suae vitae*: so ΣB; *vitae suae* others, C.

110. *conviv[i]a* (Pπδ) suits the remains better than *conviv[i]u[m]* (TB, C.). At the end of the line there is evidently not room for the ordinary reading *nihil in vita expetendum putaret nisi* &c., and *nihil . . . putaret* was presumably omitted. The similarity of *delectaret nihil* and *putaret nisi* would make this loss easy.

112. *Fabricios precedes fuisse* in T.

114. *o* of *quoq(ue)* has apparently been altered from *e*.

117. *aliq[ua]*: so Pπδ; *alia* TΣg<sup>2</sup>, C.

120. *dicendi: verborum* Σ.

122-3. The papyrus may of course have had the vulgate reading *et interdum*; om. *et* Σ, C.

128. *pu]taverunt*: so T; *putabunt* others, C.

134. Whether *familiam* (Σ, C.) or *famam* stood in the papyrus cannot be determined. In the latter part of the line *ne quem vi terreat, ne intersit insidiis* is the reading of the MSS., but this overloads the line considerably, and it seems clear that one of the two clauses was omitted. The recurrence of *-at ne* suggests that *ne . . . terreat* is the more likely to have dropped out; cf. note on l. 110.

136. The vestiges at the end of the line do not suggest the letters *do*, but no variant is known, and the termination in the next line agrees with the ordinary reading.

137. *rei*: so eg; *reique* P, C.

138. The papyrus with little doubt agreed with Pπδ in omitting *et* which C. inserts with Σ before *experiendo*. The omission of *quidem* after *multi* with the same group is also highly probable, for although this might have been abbreviated to two letters, the supplement in the latter half of the line is already so long that any unnecessary addition is objectionable.

139. The variant of Σ, *deseruissent*, is unsuitable.

140. *extiterunt* is also the spelling of P.

*lib[er]*: so Σ, C.; *liquet* P, *necesse est* πδ. The reading is practically assured, for though the upper part of the *b* is lost, *q* is inadmissible, since the tail should be visible.

144. l. *su]mptus*.
145. *obiecta* ( $\Sigma$ ) not *oblecta* (C. with other MSS.) was most probably the reading of the papyrus.
146. *i]am*: so most MSS., C.; *hoc*  $\Sigma$ .
147. *quoniam*: so  $\Sigma$ , C.; *quandam* P $\pi\delta$ .
150. It is quite possible that *hae* which is found before *deliciae* in P $\pi\delta$  (om.  $\Sigma$ , C.) stood in the papyrus.
- f[irmiore animo*: or *f[ir]mo ingenio*, with  $\Sigma$ .
153. *loquor*: so  $\Sigma$ , C.; *eloquor* P $\pi\delta$ .
154. *quae vestra prudentia est* is the usual reading;  $\Sigma$  has *quae vestrae si prudentiae*, whence C. conjectures *quae vestra est prudentia*.
157. *atqui*: so  $\Sigma$ , C.; *atque* P $\pi\delta$ .
158. *disputo* is the accepted reading; *disputavi*  $\Sigma$ , *disputato* P<sup>1</sup>. The *o* of *h]omine* has apparently been corrected.
159. l. *po]test . . . cupiditate*.
161. Since not more than about twenty letters are expected in the lacuna, it appears probable that the scribe omitted *in dicendo quoquo modo facimus*, the recurring *facimus* giving rise to the error. This will imply that the archetype of the papyrus agreed with  $\Sigma$  in reading *modo facimus non* which other MSS. omit.
162. The supposed *n* of *i]n* is not very satisfactory.
165. *est paene* is also the order of  $\Sigma$ ; *paene est* others and C. *etiam* is omitted by the MSS. l. *familiarium*.
166. *labor offendi]t h[omi]nes*: so  $\Sigma$ , C.; *labore fendi homines* P, *labor constendi homines* eg, *homines a labore studioque discendi* bh $\psi^2$ .
167. *h]ic*: om.  $\Sigma$ , against the other MSS. and Arusianus.
- se*: so apparently the papyrus; *sese* MSS. But [*is*]*i* is not a very satisfactory reading, for though the *l* is probable, the base of the next letter is abnormally curved for an *i*.
- d]edisset*: so MSS.; *dedidisset* C. with Arusianus.
169. *in ha]c*: so P $\pi\delta$ ; *hac in*  $\Sigma$ , C.
170. It is uncertain that *iam* (so  $\Sigma$ ; omit  $\pi\delta$ , l[.] P) stood in the papyrus.
171. *nih]ih]e*: so  $\Sigma$ , C.; *nihil* (twice) P $\pi\delta$ . The *i* is joined to the *l* by a diagonal stroke which is presumably accidental.
172. *loqua]ntur*: l. *loquentur* with the MSS.
- 178-9. The reading of the papyrus here remains very doubtful. Possibly it coincided with that of P $\pi\delta$ , as according to the arrangement adopted; but thirty-four letters in the initial lacuna of l. 179 are rather more than would be expected, and it seems not unlikely that *fac]tilatum est* was written, with  $\Sigma$ , and one of the *quando* clauses omitted.
186. The agreement of the papyrus with  $\Sigma$ b $\psi^2$  in adding *sed etiam . . . meretrix* (om. P $\pi\delta$ ) after *non solum meretrix* seems probable. *m* in this line might indeed be supposed to belong to *cum* further on, but the supplements at the beginnings of ll. 187-8 would then become considerably shorter than they ought to be, the *id* of *videatur* being clear.
201. The papyrus seems to have had *L*. before *Lucei* as P<sup>2</sup> $\pi\delta$ ; om.  $\Sigma$ P<sup>1</sup>. For the spelling of the name with one *c*, which is found also in P and other MSS., cf. ll. 228, 238.
203. *insidia]ndis*: so  $\Sigma$ B; but the decipherment is extremely uncertain and *insidia]ntes* is possible.
204. *re[qui]r[o]*: so  $\Sigma$ , C.; if the second *r* is rightly identified the space would be too narrow for *requiram* (P $\pi\delta$ ).
205. *in*: ob  $\Sigma\delta$ , ad P<sup>2</sup> $\pi$ . In P<sup>1</sup> *quam ob . . . si non* is omitted. Possibly *tum* may have stood in the papyrus before *sumeret*, as in  $\delta$ ; *tum iret* P<sup>2</sup> $\pi$ .
207. It is quite possible that the papyrus had the corrupt *ceterum* found in P $\pi$ b.

208. *Lupei*: the space is against the reading of Pπψ *Lucullum*.

209. *sempite]rni*: so Pπδ; *sempiternam* C. with Pantagathus.

210. *debut*: *non debuit* MSS. Without *non* the sentence could be taken as interrogative; but cf. l. 100.

212. *era]t*: so C. with MSS. except Σ, which has *fuit*.

212-13. The number of letters in the initial lacuna of l. 213 is rather smaller than is expected and the *ei* of *ei]us* are by no means plain; it appears, however, on the whole more satisfactory to adhere to the ordinary text than to make *libidine* end l. 212 and read *h]uius tam multa*, &c., in l. 213.

219. The supposed stop after *credenda]m* is doubtful.

*illa*: so Pπψ; *alia* Σ, C.

220-1. *fu]erit aditus]* well fills the lacuna, and therefore *ei* probably preceded *fu]erit*, instead of following it, as in Σ. But the *s* of *si* is unsatisfactory, the remains looking like the base of a round letter such as *c* or *e*.

221-2. *suspicio]nu]m [la]tebras*: *latebras suspicionum* MSS.

226. *elaborata*: so C. with Σ; *laborata* Pπψ.

228. *L. Luceium*: Σ omits *L*. The letters *Lu* have apparently been written over something else.

The following words in the ordinary text are *sanctissimum hominem et gravissimum testem*, but this is not to be reconciled with the papyrus. Apparently there has been some omission, but that *grav]issim]um* is rightly read is extremely doubtful.

229. *n(on)*: om. Σ.

*M*, which is added by C. before *Caelio* with ΣP<sup>2</sup>g, seems to have been omitted in the papyrus.

231. The supplement at the end of the line is of full length without *illis* which is read before *artibus* in TΣ; om. Pπδ.

234. *locisq(ue)*: so T; *locisve* others, C.

237. *percipile adq(ue)*, which is omitted in T, is required to fill the line.

238. *L[. L]ucei testim[onium*: so T (*Lucei*), C.; *testimonium L. Lucei* Pπδ. The supplement after these words is shorter than is expected, and probably there was a considerable blank space before *quid*.

244. The addition of *e(ss)e* (T; om. Pπδ) is problematical.

245. The remains of this line are too uncertain to be built upon. *iure* [ might well be read, but the preceding vestiges are not easily reconciled with *nobis*, those of the first letter suggesting *e*; *iur]e iura]ndo*, however, is unsatisfactory on account of the distance of the *e* from the *i*. *d]evincl]a* (which would presumably imply the omission of *dignitatis*, with Pπδ) does not appear to be suitable, still less *r]ecitatu]r*.

FR. 1. This fragment, which is from the top of a leaf, cannot be placed in the first line either of Fol. 1 recto or Fol. 2 recto.

#### IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

##### (a) OFFICIAL.

##### 1252. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE AND DECLARATION.

27.1 × 29.2 cm.

A.D. 288-95.

Both the recto and the verso of this papyrus are occupied with copies of official documents. On the recto are three columns, of which the first contains a short letter, probably from the praefect Fl. Valerius Pompeianus, to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, reiterating some order, but a considerable lacuna at the beginnings of the lines leaves the precise purport obscure. This is followed by a formal declaration made by three municipal functionaries to the strategus that they had experienced no extortion from Phileas, a former official of Alexandria. The declaration was made in consequence of an order of the praefect Valerius Pompeianus, and supplies the latest date at present known for his praefecture, which is now brought down to September 15, A.D. 289. Of the third column, written in a larger hand, only the beginnings of some lines from the lower portion remain, and a mention of the eleventh year of Diocletian (A.D. 294-5) is the only noticeable point.

The verso, in a hand perhaps identical with that of Col. iii of the recto, is of more importance. In Col. i the remains of some short letters (one dated A.D. 289) addressed apparently to the senate of Oxyrhynchus by some high official, perhaps the praefect, are too slight to be of value. The second column, however, is nearly complete, and provides some interesting information concerning the office of eutheniarch at this period. It contains a copy of a petition from the prytanis to an unnamed praefect recounting the difficulties that had occurred in filling up the post. Of the three eutheniarchs annually required (l. 13), the order of gymnasiarchs, on whom the nomination appears to have devolved, had designated only two, who had been hardly persuaded to undertake the burden involved. Efforts to provide for the duties during the remainder of the year having failed, the praefect is asked to intervene and to send instructions to the strategus.

On the office and functions of the municipal eutheniarch cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, pp. 366-8, Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, pp. 324-7. His chief concern, no

doubt, was the bread-supply; cf. 1252, verso 15, 908, P. Tebt. 397. 14-15. That considerable personal obligations were involved was to be inferred from 908 and P. Tebt. 397, and is clear from the tenor of the present text. The office seems to have had but a short history. First mentioned in the latter half of the second century, it fell into abeyance during the course of the third, and had only been revived, we now learn, along with the municipal *ἀγορανομία*, the year before this document was written. The latest dated mention of an eutheniarch is apparently P. Leipzig 4. 9 of A.D. 293, and the title presumably disappeared, along with the other civic *ἀρχαί*, early in the Byzantine period.

Blank spaces are commonly left at the end of sentences in this document, but the writer is unsystematic and the blanks are not confined to places where there is a pause in the sense.

Recto.

Col. i.

[ 16 letters ] ἀπὸ Π . . [.]έίμεωζ έτέρα  
 [Οὐαλέριος Πομπηια]νὸς Ἑρακλείδη στρα-  
 [ τηγῶ 'Ο]ξυρυγίτου χαίρειν.  
 [καὶ πάλαι προ]σέταξα οἷς ἐὰν προσῆ που  
 5 [ . . . . . ]αν παραφυλακτέον] χα-  
 [ . . . . . ] . ἀπελασία τετολμη[ . . . . ]αν  
 [ . . . . . ]ιλαι τὴν παρασ[ . . . . ]ων  
 [ . . . . . ] καὶ νῦν [τ]οῦτο ἐπιστέλλω  
 [ . . . . . ] πλήρωσον τὸ κεκελευσμέ-  
 10 [νον ὅπως πρὸ]ς ἐπιστολὴν σὴν ἢ σὴ ἀρχὴ  
 [ . . . . . ] ἔρρωσο.  
 [ἔτους ε (ἔτους) καὶ] δ (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν  
 [Διοκλητιανοῦ] καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν {ν}  
 [ ]

Col. ii.

15 . α  
 χειρ[όγρα]φ(ον?) [ἀποδ]ίξῃων π(ρὸς?) Θέωνα καὶ Ἑρ[ακλείδην]  
 κα[ί] Θώνιον γενομένους ἐπιμελητὰς τ[οῦ] ἐν Ἑλεν-  
 σάη φρουρείου π(ερί) τοῦ μὴ διασεσεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Φιλέ[ου]  
 ἐκ προστάξεως τῆς ἡγεμονίας.  
 20 Αὐρηλίω Ἑρακλείδην ἐξηγητῆ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) στρα(τηγῶ) Ὁξ(υρυγίτου)

παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Θωνίου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου ἀμφ[ο]-  
 τέρων ἐξηγητῶν καὶ Θέωνος ἀρχιερέως τῶν  
 τριῶν βουλευτῶν τῆς λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπροτάτης  
 Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως γενομένων ἐπιμε-  
 25 λητῶν τοῦ ἐν Ἡλεν[σάει] φρουρείου. ἐπὶ σήμερον  
 ἦτις ἐστὶν ἡ μετεκαλέσω ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ ὑπο-  
 μνημάτων σῶν ἀνέγνωσ γράμματα τοῦ διαση-  
 μοτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνος Οὐαλερίου Πομπ[ο]ηιανοῦ  
 δι' ὧν προσέταξεν εἰ μὴν εἴημεν διασεισθέν-  
 30 τες ὑπὸ Φιλέου ἄρξαντος Ἀλεξανδρείας ἦκειν  
 μετὰ τῶν ἀποδείξεων, εἰ δὲ μὴ, κατὰ χάραν  
 μένειν, καὶ φθάσαντες μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν σῶν ὑπο-  
 μνημά(των) προηνεγκάμεθα μηδέ(να) δειασισμὸν πε-  
 πονθέναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλέου, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγγράφως  
 35 ἠθέλησας ἡμᾶς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσφωνῆσαι, πάλιν  
 ἄπερ προηνεγκάμεθα δηλοῦμεν ὡς μηδὲν  
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σεσεῖσθαι καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν αὐτὰ ταῦτα φανε-  
 ρὰ τῷ μεγαλείῳ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. (ἔτους) 5  
 Αὐτοκράτορο[ς] Καίσαρος Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου  
 40 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ ἔτους 6 (ἔτους) Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν  
 Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν  
 Θῶθ ἡ. Αὐρήλιος Θώνιος ὁ καὶ Θεα-  
 γένης ἐξηγητῆς ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρήλιος  
 45 Ἡρακλείδης καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζω) συνεπιδέδωκα. Αὐρήλιος  
 Θέων καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζω) συνεπιδέδωκα.

16. π' Pap.; so in l. 18. 17. l. Ἡλεν]σάει. 20. ι of αυρηλιω corr. 24. π of επιμελη-  
 των corr. from τι. 26. υπομνηματων Pap. 28. πομπ[ο]ηιανου Pap. 29. l. εἰ μὲν.  
 37. ὑπ Pap. 39. γαίου Pap.

1. *ἑτέρα*: sc. *ἐπιστολή*. The preceding word is apparently a place-name, the whole line being a heading like ll. 16-19.

2. For the praefect Valerius Pompeianus cf. l. 27, 888, P. Amh. 137, Cantarelli, *La serie dei prefetti*, ii, p. 13.

7. e. g. *ἐπιστε*]λαι.

10. The sentence may be negative, *ἵνα μὴ πρὸ*].s.

Col. ii. 'Statement of proofs with regard to Theon, Heraclides, and Thonius, late

overseers of the fort at Elensais (?), concerning the fact that nothing was extorted from them by Phileas, in accordance with the order of the praefect.

To Aurelius Heraclides, exegetes of Alexandria, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Thonius and Aurelius Heraclides, both exegetae, and Aurelius Theon, chief-priest, all three councillors of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, formerly overseers of the fort at Elensais. Whereas to-day, the 18th, you summoned us, and in your memoranda read a letter of our most illustrious praefect Valerius Pompeianus in which he gave orders that if we had suffered extortion from Phileas, ex-magistrate of Alexandria, we were to come with the proofs, but if not, we were to remain at home, and we forthwith declared in your memoranda that we had not suffered any extortion from Phileas, but you desired us to state this fact also in writing, we again affirm our former declaration, that nothing has been extorted from us by him, and we request that these facts should be made known to his highness. The 6th year of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus and the 5th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices Augusti, Thoth 18.' Signatures of Thonius, Heraclides, and Theon.

8. [τ]αὐτό cannot be read.

15 sqq. The number of the column is inserted at the top. What follows is in a hand not certainly different from that of Col. i, though no doubt it was written on a different occasion.

16. π(ρός) seems to suit the sense and construction better than π(ερί), but the abbreviation is written practically in the same way as in l. 18, and π(ερί) may be meant.

17. Ἡλεν]σάη: cf. l. 25. A local φρουρίον was apparently named; a reference to Saïs is hardly to be obtained.

26-7. ἐπὶ ὑπομνημάτων σῶν: cf. l. 32, 1157. 17. The word is here equivalent to ὑπομνηματισμοί; cf. Wilcken, *Philolog.* 53, p. 103.

36. ὡς . . . σεσεῖσθαι: for this mixed construction cf. e.g. 237. v. 8 δηλῶν ὅτι . . . δεῖσθαι, Acts xxvii. 10 θεωρῶ ὅτι . . . μέλλειν.

Verso.

Col. i.

. . . . .

]

] χαίρειν.

] . ον χορηγεῖν τῇ πόλει

ἐ]ν]ήνοχεν ἡ ὀνομασία

] πρὸς ἐπιστολὴν Ἀσκλη-

5 πιάδου ]ως. ς (ἔτους) καὶ ε (ἔτους) Θῶθ λ.

τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Ὁξυρυχιτ]ῶν χαίρειν.

το]ῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου νομοῦ ὡς

].

10 τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν χαίρειν.  
 ]μένους ὑμῖν φρουροὺς  
 ]αι ὄρους δὲ οἱ προ-  
 ]ξονται. ἔρρωσθε.  
 ]

10. ὕμν Pap.

11. ο of οι corr. from ι.

12. ἐρρωσθε/ Pap.

## Col. ii.

[Παρά τοῦ π]ρυτάνε[ω]ς.

[δεῖ,] ἡγεμῶν δέσποτ[ά] μ[ο]ν, πᾶσαν εὐθένηαν ὑπάρχειν το[ῖς] πολίταις,  
 15 μάλιστα δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἄρτου χορηγίαν. καὶ νῦν εὐτυχῶς ἡμῖν [. . . . .  
 κατὰ τὸν προεληλυθότα ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνανέωσιν πεποίησαι τοῦ στε[φάνου] τοῦ  
 εὐθηνιαρχικοῦ καὶ ἀγορανομικοῦ πολλῶ χρόνῳ τούτων [ἐπιλειο-  
 πότων. αὐτὸς τοίνυν ἐγώ, ἡγ[ε]μῶν κύριε, ὑ[πογύ]ως χειροτονη[θεὶς] διὰ  
 τῆς εὐτυχοῦς σου δεξιᾶς εἰς τὴν παρὰ Ὁξυρυγχι[εῖταις] πρυτανείαν  
 ἀ[σμένως] (?)

20 παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀναδήσασθαι τὸν στέφανον τοῦτον φροντίδ[α] οὐδεμί-  
 αν ἄλλην πεποίημαι καίτοι . . . γὰ ἔχων τὰ ἐπικείμενά μοι ἀν[αλώμα-  
 τα εἰς τε τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν δημοσίων λουτρῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ πολι-  
 τικὰ δαπανήματα καὶ τὸ συνεχῶς τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων  
 ἀποδεί-

ξως. καὶ δὴ τὸ τάγμα τὸ τῶν γυμνασιάρχων ἀπέδειξεν [ε]ὐθνη[νιάρχας]  
 25 τέως ἀπὸ τριῶν τῶν ἐτησίως ζητουμένων μόνους δύο [. . . . .  
 Ἡράκλειον υἱὸν Πλουτάρχου καὶ Σαραπάμμωνα υἱὸν . . . ρ . . . [. . . . . οἵ-  
 τινες κατὰ μὲν τὴν προτροπὴν τῆς βουλῆς παρελθόντες ἀ[ύ]τ[ι]κα τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν παρητήσαντο, ὕστερον δὲ πεισθέντες καὶ . . . οντες ἀνελ[άβοντο]  
 καὶ ἐκ μέρους ἐχορήγησαν τὴν εὐθηνιαρχίαν ἣν ἔδει πᾶσα[ν] . . . . . ἐκ  
 30 κλήρου ἀποδοθῆναι τῇ πόλει· τετράμηνος γὰρ ἐφ' ἐκάστου τέτακται [ἐκ  
 κλήρου

ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦς μὴ ἀθρόως τὴν τετράμηνον χορηγήσαντας ὑ[. . . . .  
 ἐπιτρέψασθαι. προετρεψάμην Ἀμμώνιον Πτολλαριώ[ν]ος ἑναρχον  
 γυμνασιάρχον γνωσθέντα ὀφείλειν λοιπὸν μῆνα τῆς εὐθη[νι]αρχείας  
 ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ μεταξῶ ἀποδοῦναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ τούτους ἀνάκτησιν σ[τήσαντας]  
 35 εὐμαρῶς καὶ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀμέμπτως ἀποδοῦναι. ἀ[λλὰ] ἐπει



ἐπισταλέντες οὔτοι χορηγήσαι τὰς τροφὰς τῇ πόλει τοῦ ὑπολοίπου [χρόνου  
τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν ἀντιλέγοντες ἔρρωνται, κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον [προσφεύγω  
ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν ἰλεικρίνειαν ἀξίῳν διὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ αὐτοῦ[s] του . [

24. Second το added above the line. 26. ὕιον (once) Pap. 34. I. μεταξύ.  
35. ὑπολοιπον Pap.; so in l. 36. 38. ἰλεικρίνειαν Pap.

2-4. These lines so far as they go might well be supposed to refer to Col. ii. πρυτάνε]ως should then be restored in l. 5; but the subject of ll. 9-12 is apparently different.

12. A date probably followed below this line.

13-38. 'From the prytanis. The whole food-supply, my lord praefect, ought to be forthcoming for the citizens, but especially the provision of bread. You have now in the past year propitiously revived for us . . . the civic office of eutheniarch and agoranomus, which had long been in abeyance. I myself, my lord praefect, having been recently appointed by your propitious right hand to the prytany at Oxyrhynchus readily came forward to assume this crown of office and have had no other care, undertaking (?) the expenses imposed upon me for the management of the public baths and other municipal charges and the continual service of the senate in the appointment of magistrates. Now the order of gymnasiarchs has so far designated only two eutheniarchs of the three annually required, namely Heracleus son of Plutarchus and Sarapammon son of . . ., who came forward at the behest of the senate and at first declined the office but afterwards were persuaded and assumed it, and partially supplied the needs of the post which ought to be entirely contributed to the city by lot; for a period of four months is allotted to each, in order to avoid the . . . trouble of collective responsibility throughout each period. Thereupon I urged Ammonius son of Ptollariion, gymnasiarch in office, from whom, it was ascertained, a month more of his superintendence of provision was due, to discharge this in the meantime in order that they might make a recovery and easily discharge the remainder of their office without reproach. But since these persons when called upon to supply the city with food during the rest of their term of office persist in their refusal, I am obliged to have recourse to your probity, begging you to [order] them through the strategus to . . .'

16. στε[φάνου]: cf. l. 20, 1117. 5, note, P. Rylands 77. 34-5 στεφέσθω Ἀχιλλεὺς κοσμητεῖαν . . . στεφα[νη]φόρον ἐξηγητεῖαν.

17. For the municipal agoranomus in connexion with the markets cf. C. P. Herm. 102, Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, pp. 327 sqq., and for the association of this office with that of eutheniarch, B. G. U. 578. 9 γεναμένῳ ἀγορανόμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθηνίας. The present passage might seem to lend colour to the hypothesis of a regular conjunction of the ἀγορανομία and εὐθηνιάρχια, but the latter could certainly be combined with other offices; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 366.

18-19. The appointment of the prytanis was thus at least confirmed by the praefect. For ὑ[πογύω]ς cf. e.g. P. Amh. 135. 10, B. G. U. 731. ii. 5, C. P. R. 20. i. 7, ii. 7.

21-3. As president of the βουλή the prytanis was largely concerned with financial business; cf. e.g. B. G. U. 362. xv. 2-8, C. P. Herm. 66, 67, 74, &c.; the first two of the latter group as well as 82 relate to the public baths, and for the connexion of the prytanis with these cf. especially 1104. 16-17 τοῖς ἀνήκο[υσι] τῷ δημοσίῳ βαλανείῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀνηκόντων τ[ῆ] αὐτῆ πρυτανείᾳ. ἀνασχόν might be read before τὰ ἐπικείμενα, but a suitable reading of the preceding letters has not suggested itself. In l. 23 a verb such as ὑπουργεῖν

has apparently to be supplied with τὸ συνεχῶς; for the active part taken by the prytanis in the nominations of the βουλή to offices, cf. e. g. B. G. U. 8. ii. 5, 362. v. 13, C. P. R. 20. i. 12, C. P. Herm. 97.

24. τάγμα τὸ τῶν γυμνασιάρχων: cf. 891. 14-15 τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάγματος (sc. τῶν ἐξηγητῶν), 1202. 18 τάγματος τοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν γυμνασίου, Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 200.

From P. Rylands 77 it appears that in the second century nominations to the various civic offices were proposed by the κοινά of the offices concerned, acting perhaps as delegates for the κοινὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων. That in the present instance the designation to the post of eutheniarch proceeds from the τάγμα of gymnasiarchs may have been due to the fact that the eutheniarchy had only just been revived and that its τάγμα had become obsolete. Possibly during the period of abeyance the duties of the office had in some measure devolved upon the gymnasiarchs.

25. At the end of the second century, as shown by 908, there were at Oxyrhynchus at least six eutheniarchs, and more probably twelve, exercising their functions in alternate months in two sections of six. The reduction of the number to three may have been made when the office was revived.

27. προτροπήν τῆς βουλῆς: the βουλή and πρύτανις as its representative were responsible for the appointment; cf. C. P. Herm. 7. i. 6 εἰ θ]έλετε, δότε μοι διάδοχον τῆς προστασίας τῆς εὐθηνιαρχ[ία]ς καὶ [ἀπελεύσομαι (? cf. l. 10, where l. διαδεχέ]σθω μέ τις καὶ ἀπελεύσομαι) βαρεῖά ἐστιν (?) ἢ π]ροστασία καὶ μόνος εἰμί. ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν) κτλ. For προτροπήν cf. l. 32 προετρεψάμην, C. P. Herm. 7. i. 2, where προτρέ[πω is to be restored.

30-2. The meaning apparently is that sole responsibility for four months was less onerous than collective responsibility through the year; from a financial point of view the reverse might have been expected. At the end of l. 31 ὑ]περβολῆ, e. g., may be supplied.

32. The asyndeton is awkward, and the writer had perhaps rather lost the thread. ἔναρχον at the end of the line suits the space better than γενόμενον.

33. λοιπὸν μῆνα: Ammonius may have held office in the previous year, when, according to l. 16, the eutheniarchy was reinstated.

### 1253. MILITARY REQUISITIONS.

25.5 × 26.9 cm.

Fourth century.

An official report presented to a praefect whose name is lost, giving particulars of certain requisitions which had been made at Oxyrhynchus by some military officers. It is not suggested that these requisitions, which were mainly though not entirely (cf. l. 12) in money, were irregular or illegitimate; the writer merely says that the report was presented 'for information', but perhaps this mode of statement was considered the more prudent.

]ν . [ ]

[. . . . . τῶ] λαμπροτ[άτω] ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου.  
[γνωστέον ἐν Ὁξυρυγ]χιτῶν πόλει ἐπίδεδημηκέναι τοὺς ἐξῆς  
[ἐνγεγραμμένους πρ]ωτῆκτορας καὶ κορτιανοὺς ἔνεκεν τῶν

5 [. . .]θ[. . . . .]ων καὶ συνηθρुकέναι τούς τε τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦν-  
 [τας] πρώτους [μ]ετὰ σὲ τιμὴν καὶ κτήτορες ἐσχηκέναι τε παρ' αὐτῶν  
 λ[όγ]ον ἐφοδίου τὰ ἐνγεγραμμένα οὕτως·  
 · [· ·] . . ον [κ]αὶ Θέριον κεντηναρίους ἐλθοῦσι ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἑξαργυρισμοῦ  
 καὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια ν,  
 10 τὰ . [· . . θ]έντα σ . . χιαια β,  
 δοθέντα αὐτοῖς διὰ Σαραπίωνος Εὐδαίμονος γενομένου(ένου) τραπεζίτου),  
 Ζω[ί]λον κορνικουλάριον τάπητας ἑξαπήχ(εις) κ  
 [ ] δοθέντα(ς) αὐτῷ διὰ Σώζοντος ταπητεμπόρου,  
 Ταυρίσκον πρωτήκτορα ἐλθόντι ἕνεκεν τῆς ἀπαιτήσεως  
 15 τοῦ σιτοκρίθου τῶν ἀπὸ ζ ἕως ια χρυσοῦ νομ(ισμάτια) π  
 ὦν κεφαλαιωτῆς ενεκεν Ἰσίδωρος βοθη(ὸς) πραιπ(οσίτου) ζ πάγου,  
 Ἄκυλῖνον πρωτήκτορα κολ(λ)ήγα(ν) τοῦ προκιμένου Ταυρίσκου  
 χρυσοῦ νομ(ισμάτια) ν  
 ὦν κεφαλαιωτῆς ἐγένετο Γαϊανὸς βοθη(ὸς) πραιπ(οσίτου) ε πάγου,  
 20 τῆς γνώσεως τῶν ὑφ' ἐκάστου παρασχεθέντων τῶν  
 τε πραιπ(οσίτων) καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οὔσης παρὰ Τριαδέλφου ἀρχιυπηρ(έτου)  
 στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἵνα μηδέν σου λανθάνῃ τὴν λαμπρότητα μηνύο-  
 μεν, ἔπαρχε κύριε.

. . [· . . .] . . [

5. ν of συνηθρुकεναι corr. from ο; 1. συνηθρुकέναι.  
 corr. and κεν of κεντηναρίους rewritten. 1. ἐλθόντας.  
 16. 1. ἐγένετο for ενεκεν; cf. l. 19. ζ. πάγου Pap.  
 21. 1. Τριαδέλφω ἀρχιυπηρ(έτη).

7. 1. λ[όγ]φ.  
 11. τραπεζί. Pap.  
 19. γαϊανος Pap.

8. θ of θεριον  
 14. 1. ἐλθόντα.  
 20. ὑφ Pap.

‘Το . . ., the most illustrious praefect of Egypt. It should be made known that the members of the bodyguard and of the cohorts herein following have stayed in the city of Oxyrhynchus on account of the . . . and have assembled the public magistrates next to yourself in rank and property-owners and received from them on account of travelling expenses the amounts herein written, namely: . . . and Therius, centurions, who came for the *adaeratio* and the contribution (?), 50 solidi of gold and 2 . . ., paid to them through Sarapion son of Eudaemon, formerly banker; Zoilus, adjutant, 20 rugs of 6 cubits, supplied to him through Sozon, rug-merchant; Tauriscus, member of the bodyguard, who came for the collection of corn and barley for the days from the 7th to the 11th, 80 solidi of gold, of which the collector (?) was Isidorus, assistant of the praepositus of the 7th pagus; Aquilinus, member of the bodyguard, colleague of the aforesaid Tauriscus, 50 solidi of gold, of which the collector was Gaianus, assistant of the praepositus of the 5th pagus. The account of what was provided by each, the praepositi and the others, is with Triadelphus the chief assistant of the

strategus. We give this information in order that nothing may escape your highness, my lord praefect.'

1. The source of the report was perhaps given here; cf. e. g. 1252. verso 13.

4. For προ]ωτήκτορας cf. 1134. 3, note. καρτιανούς = *co(ho)rthianos*, though that form does not occur in Latin.

5. The lacunae may be filled e. g. [ἐξ ἑ]θ[ους παρεχομέν]ων.

8. κεντηναρίους: cf. e. g. Wessely, *Die Pariser Papyri*, p. 53, App. 392. 1-2 κεντηναρίω ἀριθμοῦ τῶν γεννησιαστῶν Λεώ[ν]ων κλιβαρίων. In P. Munich 8. 41, 45, 9. 105, &c., the form κεντυρίων is used; cf. Maspero, *Organisation milit. de l'Égypte Byz.* p. 106<sup>1</sup>. Wilcken's remarks in *Grundz.* p. 406 need some modification.

9. For προσφορά here cf. 1322; its relation to the ἐξαργυρισμός (*adaeratio*) is not clear.

15. σιτοκρίθου: cf. e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 1293. 2 (iii, pp. 238-9), where an account of σίτος and κριθή is headed ἐχθεσις σιτο[κ]ρίθου.

16. ὧν κεφαλαιωτής (ἐγένετο) (cf. l. 19): the sense of the word κεφαλαιωτής, though much light has recently been thrown upon it by the equation with *capitularius* resulting from P. Thead. 22-3 (cf. Jouguet's note pp. 132-3, Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 410), has not yet been made fully clear. The *capitula* were groups of proprietors responsible for supplying recruits, and the *capitularii* were their temporary representatives who received their contributions and conducted their business. But in the present passage there is clearly no question of the support of recruits any more than in B. G. U. 367. 22 κεφαλ(αιω)τ(ή)ς τοῦ ἀναλώματος, and P. Leipzig 89. 2 κεφαλ[α]ιωτής παρσικαρίων. Apparently the scope of the term was extended, and it was applied to other official receivers or collectors of contributions and levies. The explanation *exactores capitulationis* given long ago by Gothofredus in connexion with Cod. Theod. ii. 24. 6 *cefaliotis, irenarchis, logografis chomalum et ceteris liturgis* is probably after all not far from the truth.

17. κολ(λ)ήγα(ν): cf. e. g. 123. 14.

24. This line perhaps gave the date.

#### 1254. PUBLICATION OF AN APPOINTMENT.

26.7 × 9.2 cm.

A. D. 260.

A letter from two comarchs to the strategus of the Cynopolite nome, nominating a person for the duty of carrying to Alexandria a sample (δείγμα) of the corn collected for the Government. Prefixed to this, in a space left for the purpose by the writers of the letter, is a notice by the strategus certifying the publication of the appointment; cf. P. Flor. 2, Wilcken, *Archiv* iii, p. 530.

That samples of the public corn-dues were subjected to official scrutiny was well known from e. g. 708; cf. Wilcken's remarks on that papyrus in *Chrestom.* pp. 508-9. It now appears that in the third century at any rate such samples were separately delivered at Alexandria by persons specially appointed for the duty, whose title may now be restored in P. Strassb. 31. 6 (third century more probably than second) [Ἀπολ]λωνίω Ἐρμαίσκου . . . γενομένου διγματοκ(αταγωγῶν). At what period this practice was introduced is unknown. In the third century

B.C., as is shown by P. Hibeh 39. 15 and 98. 17, sealed samples accompanied the cargoes of corn.

[Αύ]ρηλί[ο]ς Ἰέραξ [ὁ κα]ὶ [Δίδυμος στρα]τηγὸς Κυνοπο(ολίτου)  
 τοῦ δοθέντος μο[ι] προσαγγέλματος  
 ὑπὸ κωμαρχῶν κώμης . ρύ]θ[ε]ως  
 εἰσδιδόντων τὸν ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένον  
 5 εἰς δειγματοκαταγωγίαν τοῦ καταγο-  
 μένου εἰς τὴν λαμπροτάτην Ἀλεξ[ά]ν-  
 δρειαν δημοσίου πυροῦ ἴσον  
 δημοσίᾳ πρόκειται, ἵνα πάντες  
 εἰδῶσι καὶ ὁ ἀναδοθεὶς ἔχηται  
 10 τῶν ἐνκεχειρισμένων.

(ἔτους) α τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Μακριανοῦ  
 καὶ Κυήτου Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν  
 Σεβαστῶν Χοίακ α.

2nd hand Αύρηλίφ Ἰέρακι τῷ καὶ Διδύμωι  
 15 στρατηγῶι Κυνοπολείτου  
 παρὰ Αύρηλίων Σιλβανοῦ Πα-  
 νετβαίου καὶ Μεγχέως Θέωνος  
 ἀμφοτέρων κωμαρχῶν κώμης . ρύ-  
 θεως τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος α (ἔτους).  
 20 εἰς διγματοκαταγωγίαν δημοσίου  
 πυροῦ καταγομένου εἰς τὴν λαμ-  
 προτάτην Ἀλεξάνδριαν  
 δίδομεν τὸν ὑπογεγραμμένον ὄντα  
 εὔπορον καὶ ἐπιτήδιον τῷ ἡμῶν  
 25 κινδύνφ Αύρήλιον  
 Πέτρον ἐγ μητρὸς Ταύριος  
 ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ ἔχο(ντα) πόρ(ον) (δραχμὰς) φ.  
 (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Τίτου Φουλίου  
 Ἰουνίου Μακριανοῦ καὶ Τίτου Ἰουλουίου Ἰουνίου Κυήτου  
 30 Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν Χοί[ακ] α.

3rd hand *Αὐρήλιοι Σιλβανὸς καὶ Μενχ[ῆς]*  
*ἐπιδεδώκαμεν. ἐγὼ δὲ [ὁ] Σιλ-*  
*βανὸς ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπ(έρ) τοῦ Μενχ[ῆ]ως*  
*γρά(μματα) μὴ ἰδὸτος.*

9. ο after *καὶ* corr. from *οι*. 17. *μεγ'χεως* Pap. 26. *εγ' μητρος* Pap. 29. *l.*  
*Φουλουίου* for *Ἰουλουίου*.

From Aurelius Hierax also called Didymus, strategus of the Cynopolite nome. A copy of the memorandum handed to me by the comarchs of the village of .ruthis, presenting the person named below for the conveyance of samples of the wheat belonging to the State which is being conveyed to the most illustrious Alexandria, is publicly exhibited, in order that every one may know and the person nominated may enter on his duties. The 1st year of our lords Macrianus and Quietus Pii Felices Augusti, Choiak 1.

To Aurelius Hierax also called Didymus, strategus of the Cynopolite nome, from Aurelius Silvanus son of Panetbauis and Aurelius Menches son of Theon, both comarchs of the village of .ruthis for the present 1st year. For the conveyance of samples of the wheat belonging to the State which is being conveyed to the most illustrious Alexandria we present the undermentioned person, being a man of means and suitable, at our own risk: Aurelius Petrus, whose mother is Tauris, aged about 30, having property worth 500 drachmae.

Date and signatures of Silvanus and Menches.

1. The papyrus is broken above this line, but probably nothing has been lost. Cf. for the formula 1187. 1 sqq., note.

3. . *ρύ]θε[ως*: cf. l. 18. *Τερύθεις* is a possible reading, but this is only known as an Oxyrhynchite name, and the nome here concerned is the Cynopolite. The last letter of l. 18 may be *ι*, not *υ*.

5. *δειγματοκαταγωγίαν*: to the evidence for *δείγματα* of corn put together by Wilcken, l. c., P. Giessen 15. 3 *τῆς Ἰβιῶνο[ς]* τὸ *δείγμα* is perhaps to be added. The interpretation of the editors as 'plan' no doubt suits the following sentence, but this has no necessary connexion with what precedes. Cf. further P. Brit. Mus. 256 recto (*a*) 17 (ii, p. 99).

27. *πόρ(ον) (δραχμὰς) φ*: evidence concerning the property-qualification of various offices is conveniently collected by Meyer in the introd. to P. Giessen 58. He seems right in holding that *πόρος* in this connexion signifies property, rather than income (Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 342).

34. There is an appreciable blank space below this line, which was apparently not followed by a signature of an *ὑπηρέτης* like those in P. Flor. 3. 37 sqq., &c.

### 1255. AFFIDAVIT OF COMARCHS.

16.6 × 10.6 cm.

A. D. 292.

A guarantee on oath, addressed by two comarchs of the village of Ision Panga to the strategus of the nome, that they would allow no produce to be removed from the village threshing-floors until the claims of the decaproti for dues to the State had been fully satisfied. The priority of the representatives of

the Government in the appropriation of the harvest was well attested for the Ptolemaic period, e. g. by P. Tebt. 27. 53-64, and a similar procedure had been inferred for Roman times (cf. Rostowzew, *Archiv* iii, pp. 213-14, Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 215-16), but its clearest evidence is found in the present text, which is to be regarded as an undertaking to comply with a recognized requirement. An employment of analogous methods in the Byzantine age may be seen in 1107.<sup>1</sup>

Κλαυδίῳ Διοσκ[ο]υρίδῃ τῷ καὶ Χαιρέα  
γενομ(ένῳ) στρα(τηγῷ) Διοπ(ολίτου) στρα(τηγῷ) Ὁξ(υρυγχίτου)  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Παποντῶτος Θέωνος  
καὶ Ὠρου Ἀρχαλαίου ἀμφοτέρων κω-  
5 μαρχῶν κόμης Ἰσίου Παγῶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-  
τος η (ἔτους) καὶ ζ (ἔτους). ἐπειθεμένου σου ἡμῖν  
ὥστε ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ἔχειν τοὺς καρποὺς  
ἐν ταῖς ἀλωνίαις (ἐν) τοῖς ἡμετέροις παιδίοις  
ἄχρις ἂν πληρωθῶσι οἱ δεκάπρωτοι  
10 τῶν ἐκάστου δημοσίων τελεσμάτων  
ἐκ πλήρους, κατὰ τοῦτο ὁμολογοῦ(μέν) ὁμνύ-  
τες τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ  
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν τύχην  
ἐπιτηρεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἐφά-  
15 ψασθαι ἕως ἂν ἕκαστος τὸ ἐποφι-  
λόμενον μέτρον ἀποπληρώσῃ  
πρὸς τοὺς τῶν τόπων δεκαπρώ-  
τους, τῶν μετρημάτων γ[ι]νομέν[ων]  
εἰς τὸ μηδεμίαν μέμψιν ἐπα-  
20 κολουθῆσαι, ἢ ἔροχοι ἐ[ί]μ[εν]  
τῷ ὄρκῳ.  
(ἔτους) η καὶ ζ (ἔτους) τῶν κυρί[ων] ἡμῶν  
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξ[ι]μιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν  
Παῦνι ιθ.  
25 . [ . ] . [ . . . ] . [

4. l. Ἀρχελάου.  
10. τελεσμάτων Pap.

5. παγῶ Pap. ω of ενεστῶτος corr. from ου.  
11. ὁμνῶ Pap.

8. l. πεδίοις.

<sup>1</sup> In l. 1 of that papyrus Ψοείου τοῦ φυγί(ν)τ[ο]ς is probably to be read.

‘To Claudius Dioscurides also called Chaereas, ex-strategus of the Diopolite nome, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Papontos son of Theon and Aurelius Horus son of Archelaus, both comarchs of the village of Ision Panga for the present 8th which = the 7th year. Having been enjoined by you to keep in safety the crops at the threshing-floors in our lands until the decaproti have received payment in full of the public taxes from each person, we accordingly agree, swearing by the fortune of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, to be on the watch and to permit no one to touch the produce until each person has paid to the local decaproti the amount due from him, the measurement being made so that no complaint may ensue; otherwise may we be liable to the penalties attaching to the oath. The 8th which is also the 7th year of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, Pauni 19.’

2. The title following γενομ(ένω) is doubtfully read, but seems to have been written in much the same way as the στρα(τηγῶ) later in the line. If γενομ(ένω) στρα(τηγῶ) is right, the name of a nome must follow, and either Διοπ(ολίτου) or Κοπ(τίτου) looks possible.

18. γ[ι]νομένω[ν] is cramped and very uncertain; a participle, however, is necessary unless there was a dislocation in the construction.

25. The remains presumably belong to the signature, but they are too slight for recognition.

#### 1256. LIST OF PRIESTS UNDER AGE.

21.5 × 9.5 cm.

A. D. 282.

A list, presented by two comarchs of the Cynopolite village Laura to the keepers of the public archives of the nome, of persons of priestly descent who were not of full age; cf. Wessely, *Kar. und Sokn. Nes.* p. 63, where γραφή] ἀφηλίκων ιερέων is cited from an unpublished Rainer papyrus.<sup>1</sup> The ranks of the priests were regularly recruited from the younger members of their families, as is clearly seen e. g. in B. G. U. 258. 10 sqq., where additions to the local priesthood for a given year ἀπὸ ἀφηλίκων are stated; cf. Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i, pp. 35, 211, 214-16. In the present list only two persons are included, one male and one female. They were attached to temples of Anubis, Leto, and other gods, with which was associated a shrine of Augustus—a good illustration of the composite character of Egyptian cults at this period.

[.] . ν . . εἰασθ . [ . . . . . ] . . νω . [ . . .  
 [.]λος Σαραπίωνος ἀμφό[τ]εροι βιβ[λι-  
 [ο]φύλακος δημοσίων λόγων [τοῦ  
 [Κ]υνοπολείτου ἄνω

<sup>1</sup> On p. 64 [ἀπολογισμὸς] ἀφηλίκων νῶν ιερέων is quoted from the same document (R. 72), but whether this is a different passage or another version of the same may be doubted.



- 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Πατερμούθις Σαπρίω-  
 [ν]ος καὶ Καλαῦμιος Πετενούφιος [  
 [ἀμ]φότεροι κωμάρχαι Λαύρας μετ' ἄλλων.  
 [γρ]αφή{s} ἀφηλίκων υἱῶν ἱερέω[ν  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ζ (ἔτους), ἔστι δέ·
- 10 [ ] ————— ο ——— Αὐρήλιον Ἀρωάτη[ν  
 [ἐ]κ πατρὸς Ἑρμανούβις Ἀρβέως  
 [ἱ]ερεὺς Ἀνούβιδος καὶ Λητοῦς  
 [καὶ] τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων  
 [οἱ]ς συνακθίδρυται ναὸς θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
- 15 [Κα]ίσαρος ἱερῶν πρωτολογίμων  
 τῶν ὄντων ἐν Λαύρα Κυνωνπολείτ(ου),  
 [. .]τρὶς Θιατρήτος ἱέρεια τῶν  
 [αὐ]τῶν ἱερῶν.  
 (ἔτους) ζ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
- 20 [Μά]ρκου Αὐρηλίου Πρόβου Γοθ{θ}ικοῦ Μεγίστου  
 [Πα]ρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου  
 [Εὐ]σεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Φαμενῶθ κα.
- 2nd hand [Αὐ]ρηλίοι Πατερμούθις καὶ Καλαλαῦμις  
 [κω]μάρχαι Λαύρας ἐπιδεδώκαμεν. Αὐρήλι(ος)
- 25 [Α]ντωνίου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γρά(μματα) μὴ εἰδῶτ(ων).

On the verso

Λαύρας] μετ' ἄλλων.

2. 1. ἀμφο[τ]έροις βιβ[λιο]φύλαξι. 6. καλαῦμιος Pap. ο corr. from σ. 7. First  
 ο of [αμ]φοτέροι corr. and χ of κωμάρχαι corr. from κ. 1. [ἀμ]φοτέρων κωμαρχῶν. 8. υἱῶν  
 ἱερεων Pap. 10. 1. Αὐρήλιος Ἀρωάτη[s]. 13. μεγιστῶ Pap. 15. ἱερων Pap.;  
 so in l. 18. 17. ἱερεια Pap.

'To . . . and . . . son of Sarapion, both keepers of the public records of the upper division of the Cynopolite nome, from Aurelius Patermouthis son of Saprion and Aurelius Kalaümis son of Petenouphis, both comarchs of Laura with other villages. List of priests' children under age in the present 7th year, as follows:—Aurelius Haruotes son of Hermanubis son of Harbeus, priest of the temples of the first rank of Anubis, Leto, and the associated most great gods, to whom has also been consecrated a shrine of the divine Augustus Caesar, at Laura in the Cynopolite nome; . . tris daughter of Thatres, priestess of the same temples. The 7th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Probus

Gothicus Maximus, Parthicus Maximus, Germanicus Maximus, Pius Felix Augustus, Phamenoth 21. We, Aurelius Paternouthis and Aurelius Kalatimis, comarchs of Laura, have presented this list. I, Aurelius Antonius, wrote on their behalf, as they were illiterate.'

6. Καλαῦμιος: in l. 23 the name is (wrongly?) spelled Καλαλαῦμις.

7. Λάυρας μετ' ἄλλ[ων]: cf. l. 26; in ll. 16 and 24 Λάυρα only is specified. The association of villages for administrative purposes was common; cf. 1281. 15, P. Hamburg 7. 2, note.

8. ἀφηλικῶν νιῶν ἱερέων: cf. the unpublished papyrus in Wessely, *Kar. und Sokn. Nes.* p. 64, cited in the foot-note on p. 174 above. Since these ἀφηλικες are called below respectively ἱερέυς and ἱέρεια (ll. 12, 17) the distinction which Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, ii. 327 proposed to make between the phrases ἀφηλιξ νιδς ἱερέως and ἱερέυς ἀφηλιξ (so P. Brit. Mus. 338. 12-13 (ii, p. 68), Wessely, *op. cit.*, p. 63) cannot be maintained.

10. The first half of the line is filled up by two dashes separated by an ο; it is unlikely that the latter stands here for οὔτως.

11. It is remarkable that here the father only is mentioned, while in the case of the priestess in l. 17 her mother alone is named, which suggests that priestly descent was required on the father's side for priests and on the mother's for priestesses; cf. 1265. 17-18, and Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i, pp. 219-20.

Ἄρβέως: cf. B. G. U. 1004. i. 4 Ἄρβῆς. The doubtful β might be read as κ.

12. Λητοῦς: cf. B. G. U. 1095. 7, where there is a doubtful mention of a ἱερόν Λητοῦς (so the index). A local cult of Leto in the Pathyrite nome is perhaps to be inferred from the mention of the νῆσος Λητοῦ(ς) in P. Grenf. ii. 15. Col. ii. 5.

14-15. On the cult of Augustus in Egypt cf. Blumenthal, *Archiv* v, pp. 318 sqq.

πρωτολογίμων: both πρῶτος and λόγμος are common epithets of temples (cf. Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i, p. 18, ii, pp. 310-11), but this seems to be the first instance of their combination.

16. Κυνωνπολείτ(ου) is irregular in form, and above πολεῖ to the left of the τ something has been written which might be read as εω or εως, i. e. πόλεως; but Κυνωπολείτου must have been intended.

## 1257. STATEMENT CONCERNING A DECAPROTUS.

17.6 × 23.3 cm.

Third century.

The purpose of this unaddressed document is not quite clear. It is a statement drawn up by a person named Maximus (l. 16) concerning the accounts of an Oxyrhynchite decaprotus. A payment of 500 artabae had been made to the latter after the proper time for receiving it had passed, but it had been duly added to the account by his assistant. Four years afterwards, when a superior official was at Oxyrhynchus, the question of this late payment was reopened, apparently as a precedent for further supplementary additions to the accounts; cf. note on ll. 16-19. This statement, which seems to have been made out for some official occasion rather than as a draft for a petition, is written across the fibres of the papyrus in a semi-cursive hand dating from the latter part, probably, of the third century. The fifth year mentioned as current in l. 14 might well be that of

Probus. On the verso are two mutilated columns of accounts in two hands, and in the reverse direction the first two lines of a letter from Maximus (no doubt the Maximus of the recto) to his father Horion.

Ἐπίμαχος ὀνομασθεὶς εἰς δεκαπρωτείαν λιβὸς τοπαρχίας τοῦ Ὀξυρυν-  
χίτου νομοῦ παρήλιξ ὦν καὶ Θωνίου πατρῶυ ὄντος τοῦ Ἐπιμάχου  
ἐδιοίκη-

σεν τὰ κατὰ τὴν δεκαπρωτίαν, καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ λήξαντος τῆς παραδόσεως  
σίτου Θεῶν ὁ καὶ Πλούταρχος γεν[δ]μενος ὑπομνηματογράφος νυνὶ

5 δὲ στρατηγούντος τοῦ Τανίτου νομοῦ ἐπίστειλεν Δημητρίῳ πραγματευ-  
τῇ αὐτοῦ παραμετρήσαι εἰς λόγον δημοσίων μετρημάτων ἀρ[τάβας ἐ-  
πὶ τοῦ (ἔτους) α ἔτους τῆς εὐτυχαιστάτης ταύτης βασιλείας πε[ν]τακ[ο]σί[α]ς  
τῷ Θωνίῳ καὶ τῷ τούτου βοηθῷ Διονυσίῳ τῷ καὶ παρόντι. καὶ τοῦ μέ-  
τρου παραδοθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημητρίου ἀκόλουθα ποιῶν ὁ βοηθὸς παρέ-  
10 θαιτο τοῖς λόγοις τῆς δεκαπρωτείας, τ[ο]ῦτ' ἔσ[σ]τιν, τῷ χειριστικῷ οὐ  
[πρ]οσέλαβεν καὶ τῷ κατ' ἄνδρα τῷ ἐν δ[η]μοσίῳ κατα[κ]ειμένῳ διὰ τ[ο]ῦ  
ἐπιδοθέντος συναϊρέματος τοῦ δεκαπρώ[του] μηνιαίου Ἐπειφ τ[ο]ῦ  
(ἔτους) α ἔτους. Ἀμμωνίου δὲ τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπέικτου δημοσίου σίτου

τῷ Φα-

ῶφι μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος (ἔτους) ε ἔτους τῇ Ὀξυρυνχιτῶν πόλει α[. . . .

15 ρ . . . . [.] ὁ προειρημένος Ἐπίμαχος δεκάπρωτος προσαγαγὼν μ[. . . ἐ-  
μὲ τὸν Μάξιμον ὡς [δ]φλόντος τοῦ Θεῶνος τὰς πεντακοσίας ἀρτάβ[α]ς  
ἐδέησεν καὶ τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ παρα[σ]θέσθαι διὰ τῶν γενομένων ὑπο-  
μνημάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ ἐπὶ παρόντος Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ  
κραστίτου ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐμετρήθησαν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς δεκαπρωτιά[ς].

1-2. l. Ἐπιμάχου ὀνομασθέντος . . . παρήλικος ὄντος Θεῶνος πατρῶος ὦν. οξυρῦ Pap.  
4. νυνὶ Pap. 5. l. στρατηγῶν . . . ἐπέστειλεν. 7. l. εὐτυχαιστάτης. 9. l. παρέθετο.  
17. l. ἐδέησατο : cf. 1295. 10. 19. l. κρατίστου.

‘On the nomination of Epimachus to the office of decaprotus in the western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, as he was past his prime, Thonius the stepfather of Epimachus administered the business of the office. After the time for the delivery of corn had passed Theon also called Plutarchus, ex-hypomnematographus and now strategus of the Tanite nome, directed Demetrius his agent to measure out 500 artabae to the account of public dues in the first year of this most happy reign to Thonius and his assistant Dionysius, who was also present. On delivery by Demetrius of this amount the assistant followed the natural course and added it by way of supplement to the accounts of the office, that is, to the ledger of the amounts received and to the individual list lodged in the archives through the monthly summary presented by the decaprotus for

Epeiph in the first year. But when his excellency Ammonius, collector of public corn-dues, was [present] in the city of Oxyrhynchus in Phaophi of the present fifth year, the aforesaid decaprotus Epimachus producing myself, Maximus, and representing that Theon owed the 500 artabae asked that the further amounts in his hands should be added through the memoranda drawn up by the strategus of the nome in the presence of his excellency Ammonius, because they had been measured out to him to the account of his office of decaprotus.

2. It is somewhat curious that the business of a *παρήλιξ* should have been conducted by his *πατρώος*, who would presumably have been his elder.

6-7. The separation of ἀρ[τάβας] and πε[ν]τακ[ο]σί[α]ς is awkward, but the reference in l. 16 demands a previous mention of them, and the ends of these two lines are the only available places.

(ἔτους) α ἔτους: cf. ll. 13-14. In dates of this period a superfluous year-sign often follows the figure (cf. e.g. 1252. recto 40), but to write the word out in this position is unusual.

10. *χειριστικόν* here seems to designate the current accounts kept by the decaprotus as opposed to the more formal records presented for preservation in the archives; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 255. 11 (ii, p. 117) *πρακτορέειν καὶ χερίζειν*, where Wilcken, *Chrestom.* p. 321 has already supposed a reference to bookkeeping. The sense of 'list' also appears in *χειρισμός* as applied to inventories of temple-property. In P. Tebt. 121. 49 *χειριστικόν* was explained on the analogy of 188 *δαπά(νης) χεῖρ[ισ]τή* as a payment made to a *χειριστής*, but the meaning there is uncertain.

12. *συναίρεμα*: cf. P. Tebt. 340. i. 5-9 *συναίρεμα πνροῦ τοῦ μεμετρη(μένου) . . . [κατὰ] μηνιαίου Μεσορή [ὑπὸ τῶν] πρακ(τόρων)*, and P. Rainer 145 cited by Wessely, *Kar. und Sokn. Nes.* p. 11 *κατὰ συναίρεμα σιτικῶν κόμης Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου Παχών*.

13. *κρατίστου ἐπέικτου δημοσίου σίτου*: this title seems to be a novel one. *ἐπέικτης* occurs in the compound *χωματεπέικτης*, e.g. 1053. 12, P. Thead. 20. 8.

14-15. A participle in the genitive is required to be constructed with Ἄμμωνίου κτλ. and to govern τῇ Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν πόλει. -ομενο[υ] is perhaps just possible at the beginning of l. 15; . . . ντο[s] is certainly unsuitable. At the end of that line μ[άρτυρα ἔ]με would give a good sense, but a shorter supplement is wanted. μ[όνον] is unconvincing.

16-19. The phraseology here is somewhat obscure. *παρθέσθαι* however should have the same sense as in l. 9, and as the passage stands it can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as meaning that Epimachus wished the strategus and the *ἐπέικτης* to authorize further supplements to his accounts. *ὡς [δ]φλόγτος* will then mean not that the 500 artabae were still due from Theon, but that they had been due when strictly the accounts were closed. But that further additions should be made after an interval of four years is certainly surprising. For *ὑπομνημάτων* cf. 1252. recto 26, note.

## (b) DECLARATIONS TO OFFICIALS.

### 1258. PROMISE OF ATTENDANCE.

13.9 × 8.4 cm.

A. D. 45.

A declaration on oath that the writer would appear before the strategus in connexion with a reckoning of receipts from taxation. The document is analogous in form to 260, 195, B. G. U. 891. recto, P. Leipzig 52-3, Hamburg 4.

- [. . . . .]ήσιος τῶ[ν ἀπὸ] Ὁξυρύγχων  
 [πόλεως . . . . . Ἴ]πποδρόμου Σεκούνδου  
 [πράκτορι δημο]σιῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφόδου.  
 [ὀμνύω Τιβερί]ον Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα  
 5 [Σεβαστὸν] Γερμαν[ι]κὸν Αὐτο[κ]ράτορα  
 [ἔσεσθα]ί με ἐμφανῆ τῶι στρατηγῶι  
 [Ἀπολλω]νίω ἐπὶ τῆς ἔνγιστα ἀριθμήσεως  
 [τῶν δ]ημοσιῶν ὄντα ἐκτ[ὸ]ς ἱεροῦ βω-  
 [μοῦ τε]μένους παντὸς ἀσπίλου τόπου  
 10 [σκέπη]ς πάσης. εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι  
 [εὐ εἶ]η, ἐπιορκοῦντι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία.  
 [ἔτους εἶ]κτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος  
 [Σεβαστ]οῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος μηνὸς  
 [Νέου Σ]εβαστ[ο]ῦ ἐνάτηι.

## 9. 1. ἀσίλου.

‘. . . son of . . . esis, . . . of Oxyrhynchus in the Hippodrome quarter, to Secundus, collector of taxes of the same quarter. I swear by Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that I will appear before the strategus Apollonius at the next reckoning of taxes unprotected by any temple, altar, sacred enclosure, or any place of sanctuary or shelter in any form. If I observe the oath may it be well with me, but if I swear falsely, the reverse. The sixth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, the ninth of the month Neus Sebastus.’

2. There is barely room for γεργίων (cf. e. g. 285. 4, 288. 2), unless πόλεως was abbreviated.

3. δημοσιῶν: cf. l. 8, and for the combination with πράκτορι, B. G. U. 72. 2-3 πράκ(τορος) δημοσίας κάμης Καρανείδος, where δημοσιῶν was apparently intended, P. Rylands 141. 6.

7. [Ἀπολλω]νίω suits the size of the lacuna better than [Ἄμμο]νίω. Cf. note on l. 12.

8. [τῶν δ]ημοσιῶν is supported by l. 3 but hardly fills the lacuna, in which there is room for six letters. For ἐκτ[ὸ]ς ἱεροῦ κτλ. cf. e. g. 785, P. Hibeh 93. 3-5.

12. εἶκτου: the vestiges of the letter before τ suit κ or π better than α and exclude ι, ρ and ω. πέμπτου is long for the lacuna, for which six letters are sufficient, and ἐν]άτου would give rise to difficulties concerning the name of the strategus in l. 7, since Dorion occupied that office in Phaophi of the 9th year (255. 1), and Tiberius Claudius Pasion in the 10th (393). Pasion must have been twice strategus, as he is known from 283. 28 to have been in office on Mesore 15 of the 5th year.

## 1259. DECLARATION OF A SHIPPER.

19.8 × 11.9 cm.

A. D. 211-12.

This and the two following papyri (1260-1) relate to the corn-supply, 1259 and 1260 both containing formal acknowledgements by shippers of the receipt of corn for transport to Alexandria. Similar documents of the Roman and early Byzantine periods are P. Amh. 138, Brit. Mus. 256 (a) and 301 (ii, pp. 99 and 256), Flor. 75, Goodsp. 14, Cairo Preis. 34; cf. also 1197. 1259, however, has some peculiarities of phraseology, and the conclusion of the document, where it is unfortunately mutilated, cannot yet be restored with security. On the subject of the corn-transport see Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 369-70, 376 sqq., Rostowzew, *Archiv* iii, pp. 220 sqq.

Διδύμω στρα(τηγῶ) Ὁξυρυγχείτου  
 παρὰ Ποσιδωνίου τοῦ καὶ Τριαδέλφου ναυ-  
 κλήρου χειρισμοῦ Νέας πόλεως πλοίων ἡ  
 ἀγωγῆς (ἀρταβῶν) μυριάδων δ. παρέλαβον {παρελαβον} καὶ  
 5 παραμεμέτρημαι παρὰ Διοσκόρου Ὀννώφρι-  
 ος καὶ Διδύμου Πανσείριος σειτολόγων κάτω  
 τοπαρχίας Ψώβθεως τόπων τὰς ἐπιστα-  
 λείσας μ[ο]ι ὑπὸ τε σοῦ καὶ Ὀρίωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀπί-  
 ωνος βασιλικῆς γραμματέως τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ  
 10 ἐξ ἀποστόλου τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς Νέας  
 πόλεως ἀπὸ δημοσίων θησαυρῶν τῆς αὐτῆς  
 κώμης εἰς Τῶμιν ποταμὸν πυροῦ γενήματος  
 τοῦ διελθόντ[ος] ἰθ (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκράτορων  
 Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Γέτ[α] Εὐσεβῶν Σεβαστῶν  
 15 ἀδόλου ἀβ[ύ]λου ἀκρίθου ἀδι(α)πατήτου κεκ[ο]σ-  
 κινευμέν[ου] σὺν] ἑκατοστῇ μιᾷ καὶ ἡμι[αρ-  
 ταβίῳ ἀρτάβ[ας . . .] χειλίας ὀκτακοσίας τεσσαράκ[οντα,  
 γίνονται] [(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι)] . ωμ, μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ [. . . . .  
 μετρήσει τ[ῆ] κελευσθείση . . . . .  
 20 τῶν τῶν π[ο]τ[α]μ 20 letters  
 πάντων ἂς κα[ὶ] κατὰξω εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν  
 καὶ παραδώ[σ]ω [τοῖς ἀσχολουμένοις τὸν χει-  
 ρισμὸν [ὑ]γιῶς ἀκ[α]κουργήτους ἀπὸ πάσης

ναυτ[ι]κήs κακο[υργίας 16 letters

25 κυρία ἡ ἀποχή τρισσῆ γραφίσα ἦν ἐξεδόμην σοὶ μὲν τῶ  
στρατηγῶ[φι] δι[σση]ν τοῖς δὲ σιτολόγοις μοναχὴν.  
(ἔτους?) [κ] Αὐτοκρατόρ[ων] Καισάρων Μάρκου  
[Αὐ]ρηλίου Ἀντ[ωνίνου] καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου  
[Γέ]τα Βρεταν[νικῶν] Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Σεβαστῶν

8. ὑπο Pap.

‘To Didymus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Posidonius also called Triadelphus, master of 8 boats carrying 40,000 artabae in the administration of Neapolis. I have received and had measured out to me by Dioscorus son of Onnophris and Didymus son of Pausiris, sitologi of the Psobthis district in the lower toparchy, the amount ordered me by you and Horion also called Apion, basilicogrammateus of the said nome, in accordance with the message of his excellency the procurator of Neapolis from the public granaries of the said village at the river Tomis of wheat from the produce of the past 19th year of our lords the Emperors Antoninus and Geta Pii Augusti, unadulterated, with no admixture of earth or barley, untrudden and sifted, including a percentage of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  artabae, . . . thousand eight hundred and forty artabae, total [.]840 art., by the public measure . . . and according to the prescribed measurement . . ., which I will carry to Alexandria and deliver to the officials of the administration safely, free of all risk and damage by ship . . . This receipt is valid, there being three copies of it, of which I have issued two to you, the strategus, and one to the sitologi.’ Date.

2. Is this shipowner identical with the Triadelphus in 522. 1? The dates of the two papyri are suitable enough.

3. χειρισμοῦ Νέας πόλεως : cf. 708. 13, where Wilcken (*Chrestom.* pp. 508–9) is no doubt right in reading χε[ρι]σμοῦ), B. G. U. 8. ii. 29–30 ναυκλήρου τοῦ τῆς Νέας πόλεως χειρισμοῦ, Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 369.

4. μ(υριάδων) : Wilcken compares the obscure sentence in P. Giessen 11. 17–18 ἄλλας ὀκτὸ μυριάδες ἔχω πλοίων ὧν ἐξουσιαν ἔχω, of which he now prefers his original explanation, cited *ad loc.*, to that suggested in *Chrestom.* p. 523.

8. Cf. B. G. U. 1091. 1–2, where the same Horion appears as deputy-strategus in the 21st year.

10. ἐξ ἀποστόλου : cf. 1197. 13, note, P. Tebt. 486, C. P. Herm. 6. 13.

12. This passage throws light upon P. Leipzig 22. 10 ἐν [Α]β[ι]τ[η] [Σ]τρωμεως ποταμοῦ (so Mitteis, comparing another unpublished papyrus). ἐν [Α]β[ι]τ[η] cannot be right; something like ἐκ λιβός τοῦ Τώμεως ποταμοῦ is wanted. Possibly, however, the initial Σ should stand and εἰς (Σ)τῶμιν be read in the present place.

13. Cf. ll. 27–9. The date is practically certain, since the association of Caracalla and Geta ended in the 20th year; see also the note on l. 8 above. According to 1196 Anubion was strategus in that year, but probably κα should be read there in l. 8 instead of κ.

15. ἀδιαπτήτος seems to be a novel qualification in this context.

16. σὺν ἑκατοστῇ μιᾷ καὶ ἡμιαρταβίῳ : the purpose of these percentages is unexplained. A ἡμιαρταβίον occurs also in 522. 21, a passage which may now be better understood, and P. Tebt. 486 αἱ τοῦ ἀ[πο]στόλου (πυροῦ) ἄ, (ἡμισυ) (ἀρτάβης) (so rather than (ἀρτάβαι))

κ, / (πυροῦ) Δκ, which shows that  $\frac{1}{2}$  art. per cent. is meant. Cf. P. Brit. Mus. 1015. 2 (iii, p. 257, 6th cent.) σὺν ναύλοις καὶ ἐκάτοσταῖς, and P. Tebt. 470. In 708 percentages are required from sitologi on account of detected impurities in the corn-freights, but the extras in the present passage are presumably of a different kind.

19-20. There was perhaps a reference here to the receipt of expenses; cf. e. g. 1260. 15-17; but ποτα[μ . . .] is a difficulty.

21. For the supplement cf. 1260. 12. καταστήσω εἰς (P. Brit. Mus. 256. (a) 15 (ii, p. 99)) or ἀποκομίσω εἰς (P. Amh. 138. 14) are not so well adapted to the space, but ἀποίσω εἰς (P. Flor. 75. 17) would be suitable.

23-4. Cf. P. Brit. Mus. 948. 8 (iii, p. 220) ἅπερ φορτία παραδώσει σῶα καὶ ἀκακούργητα ἀπὸ ναυτικ[ῆς] κακο[ρ]γίας, 301. 12-14 (ii, p. 256) καὶ παραδώσιν τὸν γόμον σῶων καὶ ἀκακούργητον τῷ εἰ[μ]α[τοῦ] κινδύνῳ, Mitteis, *Berichte d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* 1910, pp. 270 sqq. In l. 23 the letters ακ[ ] are very doubtfully identified, and there would be room for a somewhat longer supplement, but the exiguous vestiges do not suit σῶ[ας καὶ ἀκακ].

25-6. Cf. 1260. 17-19. The supplement in l. 25 is longer than would be expected, but seems guaranteed by the analogy of 1260; possibly γραφέισα was abbreviated.

## 1260. DECLARATION OF A SHIPPER.

23 × 9.7 cm.

A. D. 286.

An acknowledgement similar to 1259 of the receipt of a cargo of corn for transport to Alexandria; cf. the introduction to that papyrus.

- Αὐρηλίῳ Φιλίππῳ τῷ καὶ Ὡρίωνι  
 στρατηγῷ Ὁξυρυγχείτου  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀνικήτου Ὀλβανοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) Ὁξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως κυβερνητοῦ  
 πλοίου  
 5 Ἑλληνικοῦ κληρονόμων Τείρωνος ἀγωγ(ῆς)  
 (ἀρταβῶν) τν. παρέλαβον καὶ ἐν[ε]βαλόμην εἰς  
 τὸ προκείμενον πλοῖον ἐκ γραμμάτων Οὐλπίου  
 Κυρίλλου τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ παρὰ  
 Α{α}ὐρηλίου Δημητριάδου καὶ ὡς χρημα(τίζει)  
 10 δεκαπ(ρώτου) μερῶν μέσης τοπ(αρχίας) κριθῆς νέας  
 καθαρᾶς κεκ[οσ]κινευμένης (ἀρτάβας) οε, αἰ  
 οὔσαι κόμης Ἡρακλείου, ἅσπερ κατά-  
 ξω εἰς τὴν λαμπ(ροτάτην) Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ παρα-  
 δώσω οἷς ἐὰν κελευσθῶ καὶ τῆς  
 15 παραδόσεως γράμματα ἐποί[σ]ω διὰ τὸ  
 πεπληρῶσθαί με πάντων τῶν



ἀναλωμάτων. κυρία ἡ ἀποχὴ (τρισοῆ) γραφεῖ-  
 σα, ἣν ἐξεδόμην σοὶ μὲν τῷ στρα(τηγῷ) δισσῆν  
 τῷ δὲ δεκαπ(ρώτῳ) μοναχῆν, καὶ ἐπερω-  
 20 τηθεῖ[ς] ὁμολόγησα. (ἔτους) β Ἀυτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου[υ] Δ[ιο]κλητιανοῦ  
 καὶ (ἔτους) α Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου  
 Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν  
 Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν Παῦνι ιη.  
 2<sup>nd</sup> hand 25 Α[ὐ]ρήλιος Ἀνεΐκητος Ὀλβαν[οῦ] παρέ-  
 λαβον καὶ παραμεμέτρημαι [τὰς προκε]ι[μ(ένας)]  
 κριθῆς ἀρτάβας ἐβδομήκοντα  
 πέντε καὶ κατενεγκῶ καὶ παρα-  
 δώσω ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρ[ή(λιος)] Σιλβα-  
 30 νος Ἀμμωνίου[υ] ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπ(έρ) αὐτοῦ μὴ  
 εἰδότη(ος) γρά(μματα).

12. ι of ουσαι corr. from σ. 1. τὰς οὔσας.  
 27. κριθ corr. from πυρου.

17. γ γραφεισα Pap.

18. διση Pap.

‘To Aurelius Philippus also called Horion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Anicetus son of Olbanus, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, pilot of a Hellenic boat belonging to the heirs of Tiro, of 350 artabae burden. I have received and embarked upon the aforesaid boat in accordance with the instructions of Ulpius Cyrillus, the most eminent catholicus, from Aurelius Demetrianus and however he is styled, decaprotus of part of the middle toparchy, 75 artabae of new, pure, and sifted barley, belonging to the village of Heraclium, which I will transport to the most illustrious Alexandria and deliver to whomsoever I am ordered to deliver it, and I will produce the certificate of the delivery, because I have been paid all the expenses. This receipt is valid, there being three copies of it, of which I have issued two to you, the strategus, and one to the decaprotus, and in answer to the formal question I have given my consent.’ Date and signature of Anicetus written for him by Aurelius Silvanus.

3. Ὀλβανοῦ may be for Ὀρβανοῦ = *Urbani*.

5. Ἑλληνικοῦ: so e. g. P. Goodsp. 14. 3.

12. Ἡρακλείου: cf. 989 and 1285. 100.

14-15. P. Flor. 75. 18-20 is rather more explicit [τῆς παρ]αδόσεως ἐποίησω εἰς ὄνομα ὑμῶν τὰ συνήθη ἀπο[χα]γρά[μματα] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνωπεάρχου; cf. P. Goodsp. 14. 9-10.

15-16. The ἀναλώματα are more precisely defined in P. Flor. 75. 21-2 [ἐπληρ]ώθην τῶν ναύλων καὶ τῶν κομουλῶν καὶ τῶν σακκο[φορικ]ῶν μισθῶν; cf. P. Goodsp. 14. 7 κ]ούμουλα (?) καὶ τὸ δηνάριον ἐκάστου μοδίου καὶ τὰ ναῦλα καὶ τὸ σακκοφορικόν.

28. κατενεγκῶ: so e. g. P. Flor. 21. 14 εἰσενεγκοῦμεν, Hamburg 44. 7 ἐπενεγκῶ.

## 1261. DECLARATION CONCERNING COMMISSARIAT.

26.3 × 19.5 cm.

A. D. 325.

Acknowledgement on oath from a senator of Oxyrhynchus to a centurion in the service of the catholicus that he had received a quantity of produce for transport and delivery. The consignment was destined partly for a coming official visit, partly for troops stationed at Babylon; cf. 1115, Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 358-9, 361-2, P. Giessen ii, pp. 88-9.

Μετ[ά] τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κρίσπου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου[υ]  
τῶν ἐπιφανεστά[των]

Καισάρων τὸ γ'.

Φλαουίω Σαραπίωνι ἑκατοντάρχου τάξ[ε]ως τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ  
παρ' Αὐρηλίου Ἑρακλέους Κοιλακίου βουλ(ευτοῦ) τῆς λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμ-  
π(ροτάτης) Ὁξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως ἐπιμελητοῦ

5 . [ . ] . . ὁμνύω τὸν σεβάσμιον θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορός  
[τ]ε καὶ Καισάρων παρηληφέναι ἀπὸ γενήμα(τος) ιβ (ι)νδικ(τίονος) λι(τρῶν)  
μ(υριάδας) β' Δσλε,

εἰς τῶν [έσο]μένῃν ἐπιδημίαν λι(τρῶν) μ(υριάδα) α, καὶ εἰς εὐθενίαν τῶν ἐν  
Βαβυλῶνι

[δ]ιακιμένων γ[εν]νωτάτων στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ Σεουηριανὸν πρ[α]ιπ(όσιτον)  
λι(τρῶν) μ(υριάδα) α' Δσλε, καὶ τὸ ἀνάλωμα, κατενε(γ)κὶν καὶ τὴν  
διάδοσιν τούτων ποιήσασ-

10 θαι ὀπόδαν κελευσθῶ ἀριθμῶ πλήρη καὶ τῆς παραδόσεως  
γράμματα ἐπενε(γ)κὶν, εἰς τὸ ἐμ μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι, ἢ ἔνοχος  
εἶην τῶ θείῳ ὄρκῳ. ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης) Τῦβι ιη.

3. 1. ἑκατοντάρχῳ. 7. 1. εἰς τὴν . . . Βαβυλῶνι. 8. 1. γ[εν]νωσιτάτων. 9. το added  
above the line. 10. 1. ὀπόταν.

'The year after the third consulship of our masters Crispus and Constantinus, the most illustrious Caesars. To Flavius Sarapion, centurion on the staff of the most eminent catholicus, from Aurelius Heracles son of Coelacius, senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, superintendent of . . . I swear the holy divine oath by our masters the Emperor and Caesars that I have received from the produce of the 12th indiction 24,235 pounds, for the coming visit 10,000 pounds, and for provisioning the most noble soldiers quartered at Babylon under Severianus, praepositus, 14,235 pounds, and the expenses, to carry down and make the distribution of them in full whenever I am ordered, and I will produce the receipts for the delivery, without giving any cause for complaint;

otherwise may I be liable to the penalties of the divine oath. The aforesaid consulship, Tubi 18.'

3. Cf. B. G. U. 21. iii. 10 *ἐκατοντάρχω τοῦ καθολικοῦ*.

5. There seems to be insufficient room for *ἀνώνης* (cf. e. g. 1194. 3-4) at the beginning of the line nor do the faint vestiges suggest that word. Perhaps the name of the produce was given, as e. g. in 43. recto iii. 11 *ἐπιμεληταῖς ἀχύρου*. A geographical qualification might also be used, as e. g. 1115. 10 *ἐπιμεληταῖς Ὀξυρυγχείτ[ο]ν*.

7. The expected *ἐπιδημία* was perhaps that of the catholicus himself, as in P. Brit. Mus. 1259. 33 (iii, p. 240).

9. For *ἀνάλωμα* cf. 1260. 17. *καί* has perhaps fallen out before *κατενε(γ)κίν*. The *διάδοσις* here was apparently to be carried out by the *ἐπιμελητής* himself, as in 1194. 12; cf. the note *ad loc.*

10-11. *παραδόσεως γράμματα*: cf. e. g. 1115. 9 sqq.

## 1262. RECEIPT OF SEED-CORN.

10.4 x 6.2 cm.

A. D. 197.

An acknowledgement, addressed to the strategus and basilicogrammateus through two local commissioners, of a loan of seed-corn; cf. 1031, P. Flor. 21 (Arsinoïte nome), which are applications for loans addressed directly to such commissioners, and P. Hamburg 19, a similar application to the basilicogrammateus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, in which no commission is mentioned. In practice, no doubt, the mode of address in these applications varied at the caprice of the writer, and it is not to be inferred from P. Hamburg 19 that the commission was not sitting. The form of the present document was perhaps technically the more correct; cf. 1024, where a grant of seed is authorized by the strategus and basilicogrammateus. 1262 is substantially analogous to the common Arsinoïte receipts (e. g. B. G. U. 104, 105, &c.), but follows a different formula. The reign, of which the sixth year was current, was probably that of Septimius Severus, as is indicated by a document on the verso, a short receipt for rent in four lines, of which the text is *Σαραπιίδος ἔσχον παρὰ Θεέωνος εἰς λόγον ἐνοικίου ὑπὲρ τοῦ τρίτου κὲ (l. καὶ) ἰκοστοῦ (sc. ἔτους) δραχμᾶς ὀκτώ, / (δραχμαὶ) η*. Below this, written in the reverse direction, the name *Σαραπιίδος* has been washed out.

Λουκρητ[ί]φ Νείλ(φ ?) στρα(τηγῶ) Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου)  
καὶ Σερήνω βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ)  
νομοῦ δι[ἀ] Ἐπιμάχ(ου) Σαραπ(ίωνος)  
γυμνασια[ρ]χ(ήσαντος) καὶ Δημητ(ρίου)  
5 τοῦ κ(αὶ) Φα[.] . . ηδ( ) ἐξηγη(τεύσαντος)  
αἰρεθ(έντων) ἐπὶ παραλήμψεω(ς)

καὶ παραδόσεως σπερμάτων)  
 χωρούντων εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος)  
 5 (ἔτους) κατασπορὰν  
 10 παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου νεωτ(έρου)  
 Τειμαγ(ένους) τοῦ κ(αὶ) Διδύμου  
 μητρ(ὸς) Διδύμ(ης) τῆς κ(αὶ) Τσενφ(ατ(ρείους)  
 ἀπὸ Τήεως τῆς Θμοισεφῶ  
 τοπ(αρχίας). παρείληφα καὶ παρα-  
 15 μεμέτ(ρημαι) παρ' ὑμῶν σπέρ-  
 ματα δάνεια ἀπὸ γενή(ματος) τοῦ  
 διελ(θόντος) ε (ἔτους) εἰς [κ]ατασπορὰν  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος 5 (ἔτους) εἰς ἣν γε-  
 ωργῶ π[ερὶ τ]ὴν αὐτὴν Τῆειν

13. η of της corr.

‘To Lucretius Nilus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, and Serenus, basilicogrammateus of the said nome, through Epimachus son of Sarapion, ex-gymnasiarch, and Demetrius also called Pha . . ., ex-exegetes, appointed to receive and deliver seed employed for the sowing of the present 6th year, from Apollonius the younger, son of Timagenes also called Didymus, his mother being Didyme also called Tsenphatres, of Teis in the toparchy of Thmoisepho. I have received and had measured out to me from you as a loan of seed from the produce of the past 5th year for the sowing of the present 6th year, for the land which I cultivate in the area of the said Teis . . .’

4 sqq. In 1031 the two commissioners, who are both senators, one being also an ex-chief-priest, the other agoranomus, are described as αἰρεθείσι ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς ἐπὶ ἀναδόσεως σπερμάτων τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος η (ἔτους) ἄνω τοπ(αρχίας); cf. P. Flor. 21. 2-4.

#### 1263. ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING PRACTICE OF A TRADE.

9.4 × 6.1 cm.

A. D. 128-9.

A notification addressed to the city-scribe of Oxyrhynchus that the writer proposed to begin practising the trade of a ποταμοῦ ἐργάτης in the current year. ποταμοῦ ἐργάτης is probably a variant of ποταμίτης, a word occurring in several papyri of the later Roman and Byzantine periods; cf. 1053. 3, 1288. 13, B. G. U. 14. ii. 19, iii. 2, &c., 295. 8, 11, 818. 5, P. Flor. 157. 2, 273. 13, Reinach 52 bis, P. S. I. 83. 11, where the ποταμίται appear as labourers employed in the construction or repair of embankments and canals, and similar work. As a τέχνη this calling was

presumably subject to the *χειρωνάξιον* or tax on trades, and it was probably in the interests of that impost that the present declaration was required.

<p>Διογένει τῷ καὶ Ἑρμαίφ          τῶν ἐξηγητ(ευσάντων) γρα(μματεῖ)          πόλ(εως)          παρὰ Διοσκόρου ἀπελευ-          θέρου Σαραπίωνος Σα-          5 ραπίωνος τοῦ Διο[. . . .          ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων π[όλεως          ἀμφόδου Ἑρμαί[ου.          βούλομαι πρώτως</p>	<p>ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος          10 τρισκαιδεκάτου          ἔτου[ς] Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος          τοῦ κυρίου χρήσα-          σθαι τῇ τῶν ἐργ[ατῶν          ποταμοῦ τέχ[υη].          15 διὸ ἐπιδίδ[ωμι τὸ          ὑπόμνημα [ὡς πρό-          κ[ιται. (ἔτους)] τρισκα[ιδεκάτου          . . . . .</p>
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'To Diogenes also called Hermaeus, ex-exegetes, scribe of the city, from Dioscorus, freedman of Sarapion son of Sarapion son of Dio . . . , inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus in the quarter of Hermaeus. I wish to begin from the present thirteenth year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord to practise the trade of a river-worker; accordingly I present this application as above.' Date.

## 1264. NOTIFICATION OF INVIOABILITY.

32.6 × 8.5 cm.

A. D. 272.

This singular document is an application to the *βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων* for the formal entry (*παράθεσις*) in their registers of a right of inviolability (*ἀσυλία*) attaching to the writer, as recently recognized by the dioecetes; a copy of the memorandum of the dioecetes was at the same time forwarded in substantiation of the claim.

*ἀσυλία* is frequently coupled in inscriptions with immunity from taxation as a personal privilege conferred in return for services to the State (cf. e.g. Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.* 66, 150. 15), and the same combination occurs in P. Brit. Mus. 345 (ii, p. 113), where two pastophori are described as *ἀπολύσιμοι τῆς λαογραφίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τελεσμάτων καὶ ἀσυλοὶ*. In the present instance it is natural to infer a *silentio* that the applicant was not a member of any priestly order, and the ground of his privilege is presumably to be found in the strange term *ἐνναιδεία* in l. 18. It seems likely that, as both Wilcken and Mitteis have suggested, the word meant is *ἐνπαιδεία*, and that the reference is to the *ius liberorum* established by the *Lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea*. *ἀσυλία* is not indeed known to have been included among the privileges conferred by that enactment, but

information regarding its provisions is incomplete. What exactly this ἀσυλία implied is uncertain ; perhaps it secured the person of a debtor as against private creditors, or perhaps, as Mitteis thinks, it carried immunity from certain public functions ; possibly it was wide enough to be efficacious in both these directions.

That immunity from taxation was recognized through the registers of the βιβλιοφύλακες was already known from B. G. U. 1073 (A. D. 275, also from Oxyrhynchus), and it is interesting to find similar treatment accorded to the parallel privilege of ἀσυλία. Preisigke will perhaps welcome this as fresh evidence that the registers were not a 'Grundbuch' (cf. his recent discussion in *Klio* xii, pp. 402 sqq., especially pp. 418-19). If, however, ἀσυλία meant immunity from distraint, an entry of such a privilege would not be out of place upon the registers of the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων as these are commonly understood ; or, again, if the immunity is to be connected rather with liturgies, since these were based upon ownership of property, such a right might naturally appear in a property-register.

- [*Αὐρηλίῳ . . . .*] ὦ τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλω-  
 νίῳ γυμνασιάρχῃσαντι τῆς] λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπροτάτης  
 [᾽Οξ(υρυγχείτων) πόλεως κ]αὶ τῷ σὺν α(ὐτῷ) ἀμφο(τέροις) βί[β]λ(ιοφύλαξι)  
 [παρὰ ᾽Ιουλίῳ]υ Θέωνος τοῦ καὶ Ζωίλ[ο]υ  
 5 Γαίτου ᾽Ιουλίου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπὸ τῆς  
 λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπροτάτης ᾽Οξυρυγχείτων  
 πόλεως. τοῦ γενομένου ἐξ ἐντυχία[ς]  
 μου ἐπὶ τοῦ κρα(τίστου) γενομένου διοικη-  
 τοῦ Ἀνδρομάχου ὑπομνήματος  
 10 περὶ τῆς ὑπόσεως μοι ἀπὸ τῶν γό-  
 μων ἀσυλείας τὸ ἀντίγραφον  
 ἐπιφέρων ὑμῖν ἐν δισσῶ ἐπι-  
 δίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνημα πρὸς τὸ  
 τὴν δέουσιν παράθεσιν γενέσθαι  
 15 διὰ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν διαστρωμά-  
 των τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ὀνόματι πρὸς  
 τὸ πᾶσι δῆλα εἶναι τὰ ὑπόντα μοι  
 τῆς εὐναιδείας δίκαια, καὶ ὀμνύ-  
 ω τὸν ἔθιμον ᾽Ρωμαίοις ὄρκον  
 20 μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι[ι.] (ἔτους) β Ἀυτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Λουκίου Δομιτίου Αὐρηλιανοῦ  
 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ

καὶ ε (ἔτους) Ἰουλίου Ἀυρηλίου Σεπτιμίου  
 Οὐαβαλλάθου Ἀθην[οδ]ώρου τοῦ  
 25 λαμπροτάτου βασιλέως ὑπάτου  
 Ἀυτοκράτορος στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμα(ίων)  
 Φαμενώθ η.

1. τω corr. from γῦ. 4. ζῶιλ[ο]ν Pap. 5. γαῖον ἰουλιου Pap. 6. First ν of οξυρυνχειτων  
 corr. from ρ and τω corr.; 1. Ὀξυρυνχειτῶν. 10. ω of των corr. 12. ὕμειν Pap.; so in  
 l. 15. 18. 1. εὐπαιδίας (?). 23. ἰουλιου Pap. 27. η corr. (?).

‘To Aurelius . . . also called Apollonius, ex-gymnasiarch of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, and his associate, both keepers of the archives, from Julius Theon also called Zoilus, son of Gaius Julius Alexander, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus. I submit to you in duplicate the copy of the memorandum drawn up in consequence of my petition to his excellency Andromachus, ex-dioecetes, concerning the inviolability legally belonging to me and present this memorandum in order that the proper entry may be made against my name through the registers in your keeping, so that all may know the rights belonging to me in virtue of the number of my children; and I swear the oath customary with Romans that I have not made a false statement. The 2nd year of the Emperor Caesar Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Pius Felix Augustus and the 5th year of Julius Aurelius Septimius Vaballathus Athenodorus, most illustrious king, consul, Emperor, general of the Romans, Phamenoth 8.’

2. Some civic title is to be restored in the lacuna and γυμ(νασιαρχήσαντι) seems to suit the correction in l. 1 (see the critical note, and cf. e, g. 1199. 1).

8. This seems to be the latest extant mention of the dioecetes as a central authority; the catholicus had already been instituted by this time; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 157.

12-15. Cf. the notification of ἀτέλεια in B. G. U. 1073. 15-19 ἵν' εἰδῆτε τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀτέλιαν καὶ τὴν δέουσαν παράθεσιν ποιήσῃσθε τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἐπιστέλλεται ὑμῖν.

18. εὐναιδείας is clearly written, except for the fact that the top of the ν has been retouched.

20 sqq. Other papyri dated in the joint reign of Aurelian and Vaballathus are C. P. R. 9, P. Strassb. 8, B. G. U. 946. The last alone gives Vaballathus the title ὑπάτου, as here; cf. Wilcken's note *ad loc.*

## 1265. AFFIDAVIT OF PRIESTLY RANK.

23.5 × 8.6 cm.

A. D. 336.

Declaration on oath to the logistes by a priest of Zeus, Hera, and other gods, and bearer (κωμαστής) of the divine images, that his priestly rank was derived from his father. As is well known, the priesthood was a hereditary office in the Graeco-Roman period as in earlier times; cf. Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i, pp. 203 sqq.

Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Ἰουλίου Κωνσταντίου  
πατρικίου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν  
Κωνσταντίνου Ἀγούστου καὶ Ῥουφίου  
Ἀλβίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων).

- 5 Φλαουίῳ Παρανίῳ τῷ καὶ Μακροβίῳ λογιστῆ) Ὁξ(υρρυγγίτου)  
παρὰ Ἀνρηλίου Θωνίου Δημητρίου  
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἱερέως  
ἱεροῦ Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας καὶ τῶν συννάων  
θεῶν μεγίστων [καὶ] κωμαστοῦ  
10 θίων προτομῶν καὶ νίκης αὐτῶν  
προαούσης. ἐπέθετό μοι ἡ  
σὴ ἐμμέλεια ἐγγράφως δηλώσαι  
πόθεν εἶην π[α]ρ[η]ρηκῶς τὸ προ-  
κείμενον ἀξίωμα. κατὰ ταῦτα  
15 ὁμολογῶ ὁμνῆς τὸν σεβάσμιον θεῖον ὄρκον  
τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκράτορός τε  
καὶ Καισάρων ἐκ διαδοχῆς τοῦ προειρη-  
μένου μου πατρὸς Δημητρίου  
[ἐ]σχηκέναι τὸ αὐτὸ ἀξίωμα  
20 κ[α]κείν(ο)ν τυγχάνοντες ἱερέως  
τῶν αὐτῶν ἱερέων καὶ κωμα-  
στῶν θείων προτομῶν καὶ  
μηδὲν διεψεύσθαι, ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην  
τῷ θείῳ ὄρκῳ.  
25 ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης) Φαμενῶθ λ.

2nd hand [A]νρηλίος Θωνίος ὄμασα  
τῶν θείων ὄρκων ὡς πρώ-  
κειται.

2. ημῶ Pap.      8. ἱερου(?) . . . συνναῶ Pap.      15. ορκῶ Pap.      20. 1. τυγχάνοντος.  
25. ὑπατείας Pap.      26. 1. ὄμοσα.      27. 1. τὸν θεῖον ὄρκον ὡς πρόκειται.

‘The year after the consulship of Julius Constantius, patrician, brother of our master Constantinus Augustus, and Rufius Albinus, the most illustrious. To Flavius Paranius also called Macrobius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Thonius son of Demetrius, of the same city, priest of the temple of Zeus, Hera, and the associated most



great gods, celebrant of the divine images and their advancing victory. Your grace enjoined me to state in writing whence I obtained the aforesaid rank. Accordingly I acknowledge, swearing the holy, divine oath by our masters the Emperor and the Caesars, that I received the said rank in succession to my aforesaid father Demetrius, who was himself one of the said priests and celebrants of the divine images, and that I have made no false statement, under penalty of the consequences of the divine oath. In the consulate aforesaid, Phamenoth 30. I, Aurelius Thonius, have sworn the divine oath, as aforesaid.'

8. Cf. 483. 3, where κα[ῖ] τῶν συννάων θεῶν is probably to be restored, as here, after "Ἡρας; the editors of *Dikaïomata*, p. 121, rightly rejected κα[ῖ] Ποσειδῶνος.

9. κωμαστοῦ: cf. e. g. B. G. U. 1. 19-20, 362. vii. 17, &c., Wessely, *Kar. und Soku. Nes.* p. 64, Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i, pp. 10, 95.

11. προαούσης is for προαούσης. For the common omission of γ between vowels cf. e. g. 1142. 9, note, Mayser, *Grammatik*, pp. 163-4.

13. π[α]ρ[η]ρηκῶς is not very satisfactory. Wilcken suggests τετ[η]ρηκῶς, but this suits the vestiges less well, and hardly gives the required sense.

17-18. It is noticeable that the writer makes no reference to his mother; cf. note on 1256. 11.

21-2. The words as they stand are just intelligible, but probably the writer intended τῶν αὐτῶν θεῶν καὶ κωμαστοῦ.

## 1266. EXAMINATION (ἐπίκρισις) FOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE GYMNASIUM.

25.2 × 8.9 cm.

A. D. 98.

This is an application by a father for the ἐπίκρισις of his son as a preliminary to the latter's admission to the gymnasium; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 140-3, 199, 200, 1202, P. Rylands 101. The document is of precisely the same kind as 257, and being better preserved at the end is a useful supplement to that papyrus. The beginning, as in 257, is lost, but presumably the application was addressed to the strategus and basilicogrammateus as the officials primarily responsible for the ἐπίκρισις of ephebi in the provincial towns; cf. 257. 13-15, 1266. 1-2. For full qualification as ephebi, however, a further process of εἴσκρισις was necessary (cf. Wilcken, *op. cit.*, p. 142, 1202. introd.), and 1266 now shows that in the local metropoleis, as at Alexandria, the praefect here intervened; cf. the note on l. 25.

. . . . .  
 [ . . ] . [ . . ] . . . [ . ] . . . [ . στρατηγῆσ]αντος  
 καὶ Παμφίλου γενο[μένο]ν βασιλικ[ο]ῦ  
 γραμματέως καὶ ὧν ἄλλων κα-  
 θήκει τῷ ζ (ἔτει) θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ  
 5 ἀκολουθῶς αἰς ἐπήνεγκεν ὁ προ-  
 γεγραμμένος μου πατήρ Διονύσις  
 ὁ καὶ Ἀμόβις Ψάμμιος τοῦ Βαλλά-

- ρου ὅς ἦν παλαιστροφύλαξ περιῶν  
 ἀποδείξεισι ὡς ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Ψάμ-
- 10 μισ Βαλλ(άρ)ου{ς} ἐστὶν ἐ[ν τ]ῆ τοῦ λδ (ἔτους)  
 θεοῦ Καίσαρος γρ[α]φ[ῆ] τῶν ἐκ τοῦ  
 γυμνασίου παρα . . . μένων,  
 ἐγὼ δὲ ἀφ' οὗ προσέβην ἐγενό-  
 μην ἐν πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ γυμνασίου
- 15 γραφαῖς, τὴν δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ μητέρα  
 Θερμούθιον γεγαμησθαί μοι τῶ  
 β (ἔτει) Δομιτιανοῦ καθ' ἰδιόγραφον  
 συγγραφὴν τὴν καὶ δεδημοσιω-  
 μένην διὰ τοῦ καταλογείου τῶ
- 20 ἐξῆς γ (ἔτει), ἧς ὁ πατήρ Πλουτί-  
 ων Πλουτάρχου ἀναγραφόμενος  
 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Νότου Δρόμου ἐπε-  
 κρίθη τῶ αὐτῶ πέμπτῳ ἔτει  
 θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἐν τάξει τῶν
- 25 ὑπὸ Κανντίου Παυλείνου ἐπικεκρι-  
 μένων ὑπὸ Σουτωρίου Σωσιβίου  
 στρατηγήσαντος καὶ Νικάνδρου  
 γενομένου βασιλικῶν γραμματέως  
 καὶ ὧν ἄλλων καθήκει, καὶ ὁμνύω
- 30 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Νέρουαν  
 Τραϊανὸν Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν  
 μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι, εἶναι δ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς  
 Θερμουθίου φύσ[ει υἱὸν τὸ]ν Πλου-  
 τίωνα καὶ μὴ θέ[σει μὴδὲ ὑπ]όβλη-
- 35 τον μὴδ' ἄλλοτρίαις [ἀσφαλ]εῖαις ἢ  
 ὁμωνυμίᾳ κεχρη[σθαι,] ἢ ἔνοχος  
 εἶην τῶ ὄρκῳ. (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Νερούα Τραϊανοῦ{ς}  
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Παῦνι ις.
- 2nd hand 40 Ψάμμισ Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀμοίτ(ος)  
 ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ ὁμώμεκα τὸν  
 ὄρκον.

15. υἱου Pap.

18. η of συνγραφήν corr. from ρ.

31. τραϊανου Pap.; so in l. 38.

‘[. . . I declare that I was selected at the selection which took place under]. . . , late strategus and Pamphilus, late basilicogrammateus, and the other proper officials in the 7th year of the deified Vespasian in accordance with the proofs adduced in his lifetime by my aforesaid father Dionysius also called Amoïs, son of Psammis son of Ballarus, who was a guard of the palaestra, that his father Psammis son of Ballarus was in the list made in the 34th year of the deified Caesar of those . . . in the gymnasium; and I myself ever since I came up for selection was included in all the lists of the gymnasium; and I declare that Thermouthion the mother of my son was married to me in the 2nd year of Domitian by an autograph contract which was also made public through the record-office in the following 3rd year, while her father Plution son of Plutarchus, registered at the South Square quarter, was in the same fifth year of the deified Vespasian placed by Sutorius Sosibius, then strategus, and Nicander, then basilicogrammateus, and the other proper officials in the class of persons selected by Quintius (?) Paulinus; and I swear by the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus that I have made no false statement, and that Plution is the son of myself and Thermouthion by birth and not by adoption nor is he supposititious, and that I have not availed myself of credentials belonging to others or identity of names; otherwise may I be liable to the consequences of the oath. The 1st year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus, Pauni 16. I, Psammis son of Dionysius also called Amoïs, have presented the memorandum and sworn the oath.’

1 sqq. A comparison of the dates in ll. 4 and 17 indicates that the reference is to the ἐπίκρισις of the applicant, not, as in 257. 12 sqq., to that of his father.

11-12. οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου is commonly used absolutely, but here seems to have been combined with a participle.

17-19. Cf. 906. 8-9 τὴν δὲ δηλομένην σ[υ]γγραφὴν κα[ὶ] τὴν [γ]ενομένην αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦ καταλογείου δημοσιώσω καὶ μεταδόσω, a passage now cleared up by the present parallel, which indicates that, as we had suggested in the note *ad loc.* (so too Preisigke, *Girowesen*, p. 299, Schwarz, *Hypothek und Hypallagma*, p. 88), the συγγραφὴ in question was ἰδιόγραφος, i. e. really a χειρόγραφον. The explanation preferred by Mitteis, *Grundz.* pp. 86, 126, must accordingly be definitely discarded. On the δημοσιώσις of private contracts see Mitteis, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-7, Preisigke, *op. cit.*, pp. 296 sqq., 1200. introd., 1273. introd., Jörs, *Z. Sav.* xxxiv, pp. 107 sqq. Jörs's remarks on pp. 141-2 concerning marriage-contracts now require modification.

23. The 5th year has not occurred in what remains of the text, but was perhaps mentioned in connexion with the ἐπίκρισις of the applicant's father in the lines which originally preceded ll. 1 sqq.; cf. 257. 12 sqq. and note.

25. Paulinus is known from Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vii. 10. 4 to have succeeded Ti. Julius Lupus (died A. D. 73) in the praefecture, but this is his first occurrence in papyri. He has been identified with the Valerius Paulinus mentioned by Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 43 (cf. *Prosopograph. Imp. Rom.* iii, p. 373, Cantarelli, *La serie dei prefetti*, i, p. 35), but the *nomen* is at any rate not Valerius; it looks rather like a corruption of Quintius.

ἐπιεκκριμένων: the first three letters are indistinct, but on the whole are more like ἐπι than εἶσ. εἶσκεκριμένων is, however, expected on the analogy of P. Flor. 57. 73, and ἐπικ. here, if rightly read, may be due to the carelessness of the scribe.

26-7. Σωσ[ι]βίου and Ν[ικ]άνδρου must hence be restored in 257. 13-14.

32-6. Cf. 257. 40-3, which should now be read εἴνα[ι] δ' ἐμοῦ καὶ Ἰσιδώρου τὸν Θεογένην φ[ύσει υἱόν] καὶ μὴ θέσει μ[η]δὲ ὑπόβλητοῦ μ[η]δ' ἀλλοτρίαις ἀσφαλείαις (?) κεχρησθαι [ἢ ὁμωνυμία,

ἡ ἔνοχος κτλ.; or if the ω previously read before κέχρησθαι is preferable to σ, καὶ μηδενὶ ἀλλοτρι]ω may be substituted for μηδ' ἀλλοτρίαις ἀσφαλείαις on the analogy of B. G. U. 1032. 14. Cf. also P. Tebt. 316. ii. 9-10 καὶ μὴ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἀπαρχῇ μηδὲ ὀμ(ω)νυμίᾳ κέχρησ(θ)αι. ἀσφαλ]είαις in l. 35 is conjectural (cf. e. g. P. Tebt. 293. 19), but suits the remains; ἀπαρ]χαις cannot be read.

## 1267. REGISTRATION OF A CHILD.

24.5 × 7.7 cm.

A. D. 209.

A request to an amphodogrammateus of the city for the registration of a boy aged three years and five months. The document is to be referred to the category of the notifications of birth, of which several examples from the Fayûm have been published; cf. P. Fay. 28, Tebt. 299, Gen. 33, B. G. U. 28, 110-11, and Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 195-6. There are, however, considerable differences in formula, the most obvious being the concurrence of the owner of the house, where the boy was to be registered, with the boy's father in presenting the application. Possibly, no doubt, in the Fayûm examples the parents happened to be owners and not tenants. That the present notification occurred some years after the child's birth is no unusual circumstance. The papyrus offers a still older mention of the tribal organization of the provincial metropoleis than 1030.

On the verso is an extract from an official survey-list (1287).

- Σύριωνι ἀμφ[οδ]ογρα(μματεῖ) γ  
 φυλῆς  
 παρὰ Ἀπολλω[ναρίου]ν Ἀρπάλου  
 μητρὸς Σαραπιάδος ἀπ' Ὀξύρυγχων  
 5 πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου Χάρμου  
 Π[α]υσειράτος μητρὸς (     )  
 κ[α]ὶ παρὰ Ζωίλου [Ζ]ωίλου τοῦ  
 Ἀπολλωνίου μητρὸς Κλαυδίας  
 Θέωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.  
 10 βουλόμεθα πρῶτως ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 νῦν ἀναγραφῆναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑπάρ-  
 χοντος ἐμοὶ τῇ Ἀπολλωναρίῳ  
 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Πλατείας μέρους οἰ-  
 κίας τὸν ἐμοῦ τοῦ Ζωίλου  
 15 γνήσιον υἱὸν Ὠρείωνα  
 μητρὸς Ἡρᾶτος Ἀπολλωνίου

(δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου) ὄντα πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστ(δος)  
 ιξ (ἔτος) ἔτων τριῶν καὶ μηνῶν  
 πέντε. διὸ ἐπιδίδομεν τὸ ὑπό-  
 20 μνημα ὡς καθήκει καὶ  
 ὀμνύομεν τὴν τῶ[ν] κυρίων  
 Αὐτοκρατόρων Σεουήρου  
 καὶ Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Γέτα Καίσαρος  
 Σεβαστῶν τύχην μὴ ἐψεύσθ(αι).  
 25 (ἔτους) ιξ Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων  
 Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου  
 Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ  
 Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
 Μεγίστου καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 30 Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσ[εβ]οῦς Σεβαστῶν  
 καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα  
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Τῦβι ι.

7. ζῶϊλου [ζ]ῶϊλου Pap.; so in l. 14.

15. ὦιον Pap.

19. ὑπομνημα Pap.

‘To Syron, amphodogrammateus of the 3rd tribe, from Apolloniarion daughter of Harpalus and Sarapias, of Oxyrhynchus, with her guardian Charmus son of Pausiras and . . ., and from Zoilus son of Zoilus son of Apollonius, his mother being Claudia daughter of Theon, of the said city. We wish that now for the first time and henceforth Zoilus’ legitimate son Horion, his mother being Heras daughter of Apollonius, a payer of twelve drachmae and member of the gymnasium, aged in the present 17th year three years and five months, should be registered in the share of a house owned by me, Apolloniarion, in the Broad Street quarter. We accordingly present this memorandum as is fitting, and swear by the fortune of our lords the Emperors Severus and Antoninus and Geta Caesar Augusti that we have made no false statement.’ Date.

1-2. Cf. 1030. 2, introd., 1116. 20, which gives the equation of φυλή and ἄμφοδον, and Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 42-3, 348-9.

10. πρώτως: cf. the phrase ἀπογράφομαι πρώτως in registrations of property, e. g. P. Tebt. 323. 7, where we interpreted it as meaning that the new owner was making a return for the first time of his acquisition. Mitteis thinks (*Grundz.* p. 101) that the sense must be that the person making the return was appearing for the first time as a property-owner; Eger, *Aeg. Grundbuchwesen*, pp. 121-2, leaves the question open. The analogy of the present passage is distinctly in favour of our original explanation.

13. In 733. 3 μη[τροπ(όλεως)] Πλατ(είας) is probably to be read.

17. The gist of the document appears to commend (δωδεκάδραχμον) in preference to (δωδεκαδράχμον), the meaning being that Horion was qualified by descent for eventual classification as a δωδεκάδραχμος ἀπὸ γυμνασίου. Cf. e. g. P. Amh. 75. 35, where the latter phrase is applied to a boy of three years.

## 1268. REGISTRATION OF A HOUSE AFTER PURCHASE.

16.9 × 12.1 cm.

Third century.

This document belongs to the class of property-returns following upon purchase, of which examples have been published from the Fayûm (e. g. P. Tebt. 323), Hermopolis (e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 945 (iii, p. 120), Leipzig 3. ii), and Antinoë (P. Strassb. 34); cf. Eger, *Acg. Grundbuchwesen*, pp. 120-3, Mitteis, *Grundz.* pp. 99-101. 1268 has some peculiarities which give it an interest in spite of its extensive mutilation. A noticeable feature is the array of documentary evidence adduced in support of the purchaser's title; in the parallels from Hermopolis and Antinoë this is less prominent, while in those from the Fayûm it is not directly referred to. An analogous papyrus from Oxyrhynchus is 1199, which, however, is not in the form of an ἀπογραφή but is an application for παράθεσις, an expedient supposed to have been adopted when the previous owner had not made an ἀπογραφή; cf. Eger, *op. cit.*, pp. 131 sqq., Mitteis, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 sqq. 1199, as was pointed out in the introd. *ad loc.*, conflicts with the current explanation by a positive statement that the property in question had been declared in an ἀπογραφή by the vendor. 1268 now brings the correlative contrary evidence; it is itself an ἀπογραφή, yet it apparently states in ll. 14-15 that the vendors μὴ ἀπογεγράφθαι. Mitteis plausibly suggests that the present ἀπογραφή was conditioned by the production of evidence that the vendors' title depended on δημόσιοι χρηματισμοί (ll. 13, 17). But it can hardly be said that the conditions underlying the alternatives of ἀπογραφή and παράθεσις are yet fully understood.

The document belongs to the first half, probably, of the third century; the sixth year mentioned in l. 5 may well refer to the reign of Severus Alexander.

παρε(τέθη).

2nd hand [ 21 letters καὶ ὡς] χρημα(τίζει) βουλ(ευστή) καὶ Ἑλιοδώρω  
 βιβλ(ιοφύλαξι)  
 [παρὰ 21 letters δ]ώρας Ἑρᾶτος Ἑρᾶτος ἀπὸ κόμης  
 Σύρων διὰ Αὐρηλίου  
 [ 26 letters ] Ἀντινοέως. ἀπογράφομαι ἦν κατεγρά-  
 φην κατὰ συγχώρη-  
 5 [σιν τελειωθείσαν διὰ τοῦ καταλογ]είου τῷ διελθόντι 5 (ἔτει) μηνὶ Μεσορῆ  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Πετο-  
 [σίριος 19 letters μ]ητρὸς Τασεῦτος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως  
 παστοφόρου Ἀθηνᾶς

- [τῆς καὶ Θοήριδος θεᾶς μεγίστης) καὶ Σινθώνιος τῆς καὶ Ἀπίας  
Διονυσίου μητρὸς Μαρκίας ἀπὸ τῆς  
[αὐτῆς πόλεως τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν τῇ] τοῦ Πετροσίριος θυγατρὶ Αὐρηλία  
Τασεῦτι μητρὸς Τααρ-  
[ 18 letters τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχοντος ἀ]ὐτῆ(ν) ὑπὸ τῇ χειρὶ κατὰ τοὺς  
'Ρωμαίων νόμους  
10 [ 19 letters καὶ Αὐρηλία Σινθώνι τῇ καὶ Ἀπία κατὰ τὸ λοιπὸν  
τέταρτον  
[μέρος 24 letters ἐπ' ἀ]μφόδου Τεμγενοῦθεως οἰκίαν καὶ αἶθριον  
[ 22 ,, καὶ τὰ τοῦ]των χρηστήρια πάντα σὺν εἰσόδοις καὶ  
ἐξόδοις  
[ 29 letters ἐκδό]σιμ[α] ἀπὸ διαλογῆς ἀναπεμφθέντα  
[ 27 ,, ] . . [ σὺν] ἴ[σο]ις ἀντιγράφοις, καὶ δηλῶ μήτε  
τὸν Πε-  
15 [τοσίριν 21 letters ]μ . [.] ἢ τὴν Σινθώνιν τὴν καὶ Ἀπίαν ἀπογε-  
[γράφθαι . . . . . τῶν προκει]μ[έ]νων ἐνγαίων, εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν  
ἀγοραστικῶ  
[δικαίῳ . . . . . κατὰ συγχ]ωρ[ήσ]ις τρεῖς τελειωθείσας διὰ τοῦ  
καταλογείου ὧν ὁμοίως  
[ 28 letters ] . . [ . . . . . ] . . των τρεῖς ἐπ[ι]φέρων  
ὕμ[ι]ν σὺν ἴσοις ἀντι-  
[γράφοις 29 letters ] μ[ην]ὶ Παχών, μίαν μὲν  
πρότερον Σαραπιά-  
20 [δος ]ν . . ν[.] . θη  
. . . . .

14. ο of τον corr. from η.

18. ἴσοις Pap.

1. Cf. e. g. 713. 1.

3. The Oxyrhynchite κώμη Σύρων is mentioned also in 270. 22, 1052. 5.

4-5. συγχώρη[σιν . . . καταλογ]είου: cf. e. g. l. 17, Mitteis, *Grundz.* pp. 65-7.

6-7. Ἀθηνᾶς κτλ.: cf. 579, 1117. 2-3.

9. Cf. 1208. 6, note. But the fact that a person ὑπὸ τῇ χειρὶ was at the same time an owner of property shows that the *patria potestas* was not strictly interpreted in Egypt.13. ἐκδό]σιμ[α] is a somewhat doubtful restoration, but seems suitable enough in this context; on the use of the term cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.* p. 63. On the διαλογῆ (τῆς πόλεως), which appears in connexion with the δημοσίωσις of contracts, cf. Mitteis, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-5, Preisigke, *Griowesen*, p. 297. The relations of the officials πρὸς τῇ διαλογῇ to the καταλογεῖον are not yet clear. Mitteis's remark (pp. 84<sup>3</sup>, 125<sup>3</sup>) that apparently the latter only was

concerned with the preparation of *συγχαρήσεις* seems to need modification in the light of the present passage.

14-16. Similarly 1199. 24-5 κ[α]: δηλω τὴν αὐτὴν Θεωδίαν [ἀ]πογεγράφθ[αι] τὸ προκείμενον ἐ[γ]γενον. The next words should now be restored, on the analogy of l. 16, ἐ[ἴ]να δ[έ] αὐτῶν κλ[η]ρονο[μικῶ]ν δικαίφ. Something like μηδὲν ἀπλῶς may be supplied in the lacuna before τῶν προκει[μ[ε]νων.

## 1269. LIST OF PROPERTY.

20.2 x 11.2 cm.

Early second century.

A list addressed to the exegetes (of Oxyrhynchus) of some property belonging to two minors whose father was dead. The list had been drawn up by the uncle of the minors on the order of the previous exegetes and was now submitted to his successor in the office. A supervision of minors was one of the functions of the exegetae; cf. P. Amh. 85, 86, B. G. U. 1070 (= Mitteis, *Chrestom.* 323), and for a near parallel to the present papyrus B. G. U. 388. ii. 22-4 εἰσελθόντες τινὲς πρὸς τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα ἔλεγον Ἄρον ταῦτα (sc. various ἀργυρώματα) ἐκ τοῦ μ[ε]σ[σ]ου, μὴ ὁ ἐξηγητὴς εἰσελθὼν ἐπ' [ἀν]α[γ]ραφῆς αὐτὰ ποιήσῃ. Several of the articles in the list had been pawned by their late owner; cf. c. g. 114, P. Brit. Mus. 193. verso (ii, p. 245).

Three different hands are apparently to be distinguished in the document. The upper part is in upright semi-uncials which change in l. 20 to a smaller cursive. From l. 4 onwards dots or short dashes have been placed in the left margin close to most of the lines.

- Πτολεμαίωι ἱερεῖ ἐνάρχωι ἐξηγητῆι  
 παρὰ Θεωνάτος τοῦ Ἰσιδώρου μητρὸς  
 Σοήριος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως. (2nd hand) ἦς  
 ἐπέδωκα Σαραπίωνι τῷ πρὸ σοῦ  
 5 ἐξηγητῆι γραφῆς σκευῶν  
 τῶν καταλελιμμένων τοῖς ἀφή-  
 λιξι μου ἀδελφιδοῖς Σαραπάτι καὶ  
 Σαραποῦτι ὑπὸ τῶν μετηλλαχό-  
 τος αὐτῶν πατρὸς ἐμοῦ δὲ ὁμο-  
 10 γνησίου ἀδελφοῦ Ἰσάτος ἀντίγραφον  
 ὑπόκειται.  
 Σαραπίωνι ἐνάρχωι ἱερεῖ καὶ ἐξηγη(τῆι)  
 παρὰ Θεωνάτος τοῦ Ἰσιδώρου μητρὸς



- Σοηροῦτος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως.
- 15 αἰτούμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ γραφὴν τῶν  
ἀπολελιμμένων τοῖς ἀφήλιξί μου  
ἀδελφιδοῖς Σαραπᾶτι καὶ Σαραποῦτι  
ὑπὸ τοῦ μετηλλαχότος αὐτῶν πατρὸς  
ἐμοῦ δὲ ὁμογενεσίου {τ} ἀδελφοῦ Ἰσατο(ς)
- 20 σκευῶν καὶ ἄλλων πρ- (3rd hand) -οσφωνῶ εἶναι τὰ  
ὑπογεγραμμένα· κιβωτὸς κειμένον  
παρακλειδίου, ἐτέρα ἀργή, κάδος χαλ-  
κοῦς, κλείς ἢ καὶ λακάνη ἣν ὑποτέθειται  
Εἰσᾶς περιὼν Πανάρητος πρὸς ἀργυρίου δρα-
- 25 χμὰς εἴκοσι, ἕτερος κάδος ὁμοίως ὑποτε-  
θειμένος πρὸς δραχμὰς δέκα τῷ αὐτῷ  
[Π]ανάρη, λήκυθον κασσιτερίου ὑποτεθει-  
[μένον τῷ] αὐτῷ πρὸς δραχμὰς τέσσαρες,  
[. . . .]. [. . . .] χρῶμον ὑποτεθειμένον
- 30 μὴ ἔτι πρὸς [δ]ραχμὰς δεκαδύο, κιτῶνα  
ὑποτεθειμένον Τνεφεροσίτι πρὸς δραχμὰς  
ὀκτώ, καὶ ἤμ[ι]σιν μέρος ἰστών γερδιακῶν τρι-  
ῶν πατρικῶν, χυρίδιον πεπραμένον ὑπ' ἐ-  
μοῦ τοῦ Θέωνος μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ
- 35 ἀδελφοῦ Ἰσατος δραχμῶν τεσσαράκοντα,  
μεγάλην κ[ί]στην χαλκοῦς, ποτήριον κασσι-  
[τέ]ρινον ἐν [καὶ ἀργ]υρ[ί]ο]ν [έ]ν, κερβικάριον  
[. . . .]νον [
- . . . . .

3. η of ης corr. 4. επεδωκα over something expunged. 8. ἰ. τοῦ. 19. ισατο(ς)  
over something expunged. 24. ἰ. Πανάρητι or Πανάρη. 28. προς added above the line.  
29. ἰ. ]χρῶμον. 30. ἰ. μοι. 33. ἰ. χοιρίδιον. 36. ἰ. χαλκοῦν or χαλκοῦ.

‘To Ptolemaeus, priest and exegetes in office, from Theonas son of Isidorus and Soëris of the city of Oxyrhynchus. Appended is a copy of the list which I presented to Sarapion, your predecessor as exegetes, of the articles left to my nephew and niece, being minors, Sarapas and Sarapous, by their deceased father, who was my full brother, Isas.

To Sarapion, priest and exegetes in office, from Theonas son of Isidorus and Soërous of the city of Oxyrhynchus. Being asked by you for a list of the furniture and other articles left to my nephew and niece, being minors, Sarapas and Sarapous, by their deceased father who was my full brother Isas, I declare that they are as follows: a coffer

supplied with a false key, another out of use, a box of bronze, a plate or dish pledged by Isas during his lifetime to Panares for twenty drachmae of silver, another box likewise pledged for ten drachmae to the same Panares, a flask of tin pledged to the same person for four drachmae, a . . . coloured . . . pledged to me for a further sum of twelve drachmae, a tunic pledged to Tnephersois for eight drachmae, and a half share in three weavers' looms which belonged to his father, a pig sold by me, Theon, after the death of my brother Isas for forty drachmae, a large chest of bronze, one cup of tin and one of silver, a pillow . . .'

14. Σοηροῦτος: in l. 3 she was called Σοήριος; cf. l. 34, note, and 1291. introd.

22. παρακλείδιον occurs in a line of Plato Com. (Kock 77) apparently in the sense of a false key; that this is the meaning here is not clear.

23. κλείς does not seem to occur elsewhere in this sense.

34. Θέωνος: in ll. 2 and 13 Θεωνάτος. The same irregularity occurs in 119; cf. l. 14, note.

### (c) PETITIONS.

#### 1270. NOTIFICATION THROUGH THE ARCHIDICASTES.

32 × 6.5 cm.

A. D. 159.

A notice addressed to the strategus by the purchaser of some land that he had brought the terms of his contract to the cognizance of the archidicastes, who had authorized the strategus to communicate this fact to the seller or her representatives. Documents of this class, of which other examples are 485, B. G. U. 578, &c., are known as διαστολικά, and were commonly employed to bring formal notice of claims for breaches of agreement; cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.* pp. 122 sqq., who has well characterized the proceeding as 'Mahnverfahren'. The peculiarity of 1270 is that no claim or complaint is specified; the object of the communication is apparently stated to be merely that the seller might be aware of the validity of the contract (ll. 52-3). This is yet more vague than 286, an analogous invocation of the archidicastes in which the claim is still hypothetical: ὅπως . . . εἰδῶσι, ἐάν τι ἰς ταύτην πραχθῶ, ἐσομένην μοι τὴν πρᾶξιν (ll. 17-20). Perhaps in the present case, too, some negligence in the fulfilment of the terms of the contract was anticipated, and the purchaser had recourse to this διαστολικόν as a precautionary measure. Mitteis suggests that the seller had died, and that her heirs had to be notified before being called upon to carry out the terms of the agreement; cf. Cod. Theod. ii. 27. 1. In l. 50 the possibility of her decease is indeed mentioned, but only in a stereotyped phrase (cf. e. g. 485. 29, and contrast B. G. U. 888. 20), which does not imply that the writer believed death to have taken place.

It may be remarked that in the application to the archidicastes an abstract of the contract is given, not a complete copy of it. This is very likely due,

as suggested by Mitteis in connexion with B. G. U. 888 (*Grundz.* p. 124<sup>3</sup>: 906 is not parallel; cf. 1266. 17–19, note), to the fact that the contract in question was a notarial *ὁμολογία*, not a *χειρόγραφον* requiring *δημοσίωσις* before it could be acted upon. Of *δημοσίωσις* there is here no word, and the document is thus differentiated from 719, and cannot be explained as an announcement of the fact of publication to the other party to the contract; cf. 1276. 19, note.

Φωκίῳνι στρα(τηγῶ) [ ]  
 παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Ἡρώδου μητρὸς . . . . .  
 ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως. [οὐδ' ἐπόρισσα ἐκ  
 τοῦ καταλογείου χρηματισμοῦ ἐστὶν ἀντίγρα-  
 5 φον· Κέλερ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆς  
 Ὀξυρυγχείτου στρα(τηγῶ) χαίρειν. τοῦ δεδομένου  
 ὑπομνήματος ἀντίγρα[φον] μεταδοθήτω ὡς  
 ὑπόκειται. ἔρρωσο. ἔτους κβ Α[ὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀν[τωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ  
 10 Εὐσεβοῦς μηνὸς Ἀδριανοῦ] . . . . .  
 σεσημῶμαι. Σαραπίων Ε[ ] . [ . . . . . γραμμα-  
 τεὺς καταλογείου. Κέλερ[ι] . . . . . γενο-  
 μένου ὑπομνηματογράφου υἱῶ γενομέ-  
 νω στρα(τηγῶ) τῆς πόλεως ἰε[ρεῖ] ἀρχιδικαστῆ  
 15 καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων παρὰ Πτολεμαί-  
 ου τοῦ Ἡρώδου μητρὸς Ι[ ] . . . . ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων  
 πόλεως. καθ' ἣν πεποιή[μαι] πρὸς Ἀμμων . . . .  
 Διογένους μητρὸς Σινθο[ώνιος] μετὰ κυρίου  
 20 τοῦ υἱοῦ Διογένους Θεώ[νος] ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 πόλεως ὁμολογία(ν) τῶ ἐν[εστῶτι] κβ ἔτει ὠ-  
 μολόγησεν παρακεχωρήκῃ μοι τὸ ὑπάρ-  
 χον αὐτῇ περὶ κώμην [ . . . . . ἐκ τοῦ Πο-  
 λυκλείδου κλήρου πρό[τερον] . . . . .  
 25 τῆς Διογένους γῆς κατο[ικικῆς] σιτοφόρου σπο-  
 ρίμου ἐξ ὀρθογωνίου ἀρ[ούρης] ἕκτον ἢ ὅσον ἐ-  
 ἂν ἦ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ ἔλατ[τον] κοινῆς οὐσης τῆς  
 ὄλης ἀρούρης μιᾶς πρὸς εἰ[ . . . . .  
 καὶ Π[εμ][ . . . ] π[έμ] ἀπο[ . . . . . ]

- 30 ἦσιος καὶ ἄλλου, ἧς ὅλης γεί[τονες νότου καὶ βορ-  
 ρᾶ καὶ ἀπηλιώτου καὶ λιβδὸς [. . . . .],  
 τὰς δὲ τῆς συμπεφω[ημένης πρὸς ἀλλή-  
 λους ἀρούρης ἕκτου ὥ[ς πρόκειται τιμῆς  
 ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομ[ίσματος δραχμὰς
- 35 ἑκατὸν ἐξ αὐτόθι ἀπε[σχηκέναι παρ' ἑμοῦ  
 διὰ χειρὸς ἀριθμῶ πλήρ[εις καὶ τὴν γῆν βε-  
 βαιώσειν πάση βεβαιώσ[ει καθαρὰν ἀπὸ γεωρ-  
 γίας βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσιακ[ῆς καὶ παντὸς εἶδους  
 καὶ ἀπὸ ἀπεργασίας καὶ ὕ[. . . . .] χωμά-
- 40 των, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ δημ[οσίων τελεσμά-  
 των πάντων τῶν ἐ[π]ροσθεν χρόνων μέ-  
 χρι συντελείας τοῦ διε[ληλυθότος πρώτου  
 καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους κα[ὶ] αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρώτου  
 καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους Ἀντ[ωνίου Καίσαρος
- 45 τοῦ κυρίου διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀ[πὸ] τοῦ νῦν εἶναι ἐ-  
 μοῦ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, [καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 ἀ περιέχει ὑπὲρ προερ[γασίας. ἀξιῶ συντά-  
 ξαι γράψαι τῷ τοῦ Ὁξ[υρυγχίτου στρατηγῶ] μετα  
 δοῦναι τούτου τὸ ἴσον [τῇ Ἀμμων . . . , ἐὰν
- 50 περιῆι, εἰ δὲ μή, κληρο[δόμοις αὐτῆς τελείοις  
 ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων δηλωθή-  
 σεται ὡς καθήκει, ἴ[ν]α εἰδῶσι μένουσαν  
 κυρίαν τὴν ὁμολογί[αν ἐφ' οἷς περιέχει.  
 ὡς καθήκει. (ἔτους) κβ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
- 55 Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίου Σεβαστοῦ  
 Εὐσεβοῦς μηνὸς Ἀ[δριανοῦ . . . . .  
 [καὶ] τούτου ὄντος ἀ[ξιῶ] τὴν μετὰδοσιν  
 γενέσθαι τῇ Ἀμμων[. . . ὡς καθήκει.  
 (ἔτους) κβ Αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου
- 60 Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίου [Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς  
 [Μ]εχ[εῖρ] . [.]

5. ἱερεὺς Pap. 17. μητρος [ι' Pap. 49. ἴσον Pap. 52. ἴ[α] Pap.

'To Phocion, strategus, from Ptolemaeus son of Herodes and . . ., of Oxyrhynchus. A copy of the communication which I have obtained from the record-office is as follows:

“Celer, priest and archidicastes, to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. Let a copy of the application presented to me be served, as below. Good-bye. The 22nd year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, the . . . of the month Hadrianus. Signed by me, . . . written by me, Sarapion . . ., scribe of the record-office. “To Celer son of the ex-hypomnematographus . . ., ex-strategus of the city, priest, archidicastes, and superintendent of the chrematistae and other tribunals, from Ptolemaeus son of Herodes and . . ., of Oxyrhynchus. By the terms of the contract made by me with Ammon . . . daughter of Diogenes and Sinthoönis with her guardian her son Diogenes son of Theon, of the said city, in the present 22nd year, she acknowledged that she had ceded to me the sixth part of an arura, or thereabouts, whether more or less, of catocic corn-bearing arable land, of rectangular shape, belonging to her in the area of the village . . . in the holding of Polycleidas, and formerly the property of . . . daughter of Diogenes, the whole one arura being held jointly with . . . and another, and being adjoined on the south, north, east, and west by . . ., and that she had received from me forthwith from hand to hand in full the hundred and six drachmae of the Imperial silver coinage agreed upon between us as the price of the sixth part of an arura, as aforesaid, and that she would guarantee the land with every guarantee as free from the liability of cultivating royal or domain land and every impost and from construction and . . . of dykes and also from all public taxes incident in the past down to the end of and including the 21st year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, because the proceeds henceforth belong to me, Ptolemaeus, with the conditions included in the contract concerning the previous cultivation. I beg you to give orders that instructions should be sent to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome to serve a copy of this application upon Ammon . . ., if alive, or if not, upon her full heirs whose names will be disclosed on the spot, as is fitting, in order that they may know that the contract with all its provisions is valid.” (Endorsed) Let the proper steps be taken. The 22nd year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, the . . . of the month Hadrianus.” In these circumstances I request that a copy should be served on Ammon . . ., as is fitting.’ Date.

1. Phocion has occurred in 476, which may now be dated more precisely.

10-12. For the double signatures cf. e.g. 485. 8, 719. 6. *ἔγραψα* is possible after *Σαραπίων*, but the order would be unnatural and a patronymic is more probable, with *ἔγραψα* understood.

12-14. *γενο]μένου ὑπομνηματογρά[φου νῖφ̄ κτλ.*: cf. 727. 2-3, B. G. U. 888. 5-6.

18. Cf. l. 58; either *Ἀμμωνοῦτα* or *Ἀμμωνάριον* is possible.

28. Very likely *πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον*; but *ε* may be the initial of a proper name.

29-30. *Πεμπέμ*, if right, must be the name of a person and *ἀπο-* either a patronymic (*Ἀπολλωνίου?*) or a descriptive phrase (*ἀπὸ κ[ώμης . . .?*). The genitives *-ήσιος καὶ ἄλλου*, or at any rate the latter of them, look like an error for accusatives.

39. Cf. 1208. 21 *καὶ ἀπὸ ἀπ[εργ]ασίας [καὶ . . .]. λ[.] . ἰας χωμάτων*, where the mutilated word before *χωμάτων* is doubtless the same as *ύ[.] . .* here; it is not, apparently, *ὑδροφυλακίας*.

45. The supplement is a shortened form of 504. 25-6, 1208. 22.

46. Cf. for the supplement e.g. 286. 12, 485. 24.

48. *μετά]δοῦναι*: cf. e.g. B. G. U. 578. 20, 888. 20, and 485. 29, where *μεταδοῦναι*, not *ἐπιδοῦναι*, is to be read.

53. For *ἐφ' οὗ περιέχει*, which is quite conjectural here, cf. l. 46 note. *οὗ ἐν ἐπιφέρηται* would also be suitable.

54. *ὡς καθήκει*, as 1200. 56 shows, is not to be connected with the preceding sentence but is the endorsement of the archidicastes, to be taken with the following date; cf. 286. 28. In 485. 34 and B. G. U. 578. 22 a full stop should similarly be placed before *ὡς καθήκει*.

56-8. 485. 35-7 may now be read on this analogy Φα[ῶφι.] . [καί?] τ[ο]ύτου ἡμέρας ἀξ[ιῶ τὴν] μετέδοσιν γενέσθ[αι τῆ Σα]ραπιάδι. At the end of l. 35 the supposed mark of abbreviation is no doubt a stroke over the day of the month; after this there would be room (but not more than room) for καί, which, however, may well have been omitted. In l. 56 here, if [κ]αί is right in the line below, nothing more than the figures of the date are wanted after Ἀδριανού, and the rest of the line was presumably blank.

## 1271. PETITION TO THE PRAEFECT.

13.1 × 8 cm.

A. D. 246. Plate V.

An application to the praefect Valerius Firmus (cf. 720. I, 1194. introd.) from a woman who was a citizen of Side for a permit to leave the country via Pharos. An extremely cursive official endorsement in Latin remains partly undeciphered, but is not likely to have contained more than a formal authorization. With this interesting illustration of the vigilance exercised by the Government on the frontiers of Egypt and the strictness with which ingress and egress were controlled Wilcken aptly compares Strabo ii. 101 οὐδ' ἐξὸν ἦν ἄνευ προσταγματος ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀνάγεσθαι . . . οὐδέ γε λαθεῖν ἐκπλεῦσαντα ἐνεδέχτο τοσαύτη φρουρᾷ κεκλεισμένου τοῦ λιμένος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξόδων, ὅσσην καὶ νῦν ἐτι διαμένονσαν ἐγνωμεν ἡμεῖς ἐπιδημοῦντες τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πολὺν χρόνον, καίτοι τὰ νῦν πολὺ ἀνεῖται Ῥωμαίων ἐχόντων. This Ptolemaic *πρόσταγμα* mentioned by Strabo was no doubt a permit addressed to the commandant at Pharos, corresponding to the authorization issued by the Roman praefect to the *procurator Phari*. For the latter official cf. C. I. L. vi. 8582 *proc. Fari Alexandriae ad Aegyptum*.

Οὐαλερίῳ Φίρμῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Μαικιανῆς Σιδή(ιδος).  
 βούλομαι, κύριε, ἐκπλεῦσαι διὰ Φάρου.  
 ἀξιῶ γράψαι σε τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ τῆς Φά-  
 5 ρου ἀπολύσαι με κατὰ τὸ ἔθος.

Π[α]χῶν α. διευτύχει.

2nd hand *Valerius Firmus*

*Asclepiade . . . ! . . . ῥι*

*dimittī . . . ῥ α . . . [ . . .*

10 *co . . . us α . . . [ . . . . .*

*. . . fie[ . . . . .*

*datum xvii k[al(endas) . . . . .*

*Præsentī A[lbino co(n)s(ulibus)*

. . . . .

'To Valerius Firmus, praefect of Egypt, from Aurelia Maeciana of Side. I wish, my lord, to sail out by way of Pharos; I therefore beg you to write to the procurator of Pharos to allow me to leave, as is usual. Pachon 1. Farewell.' Latin endorsement.

8. *Asclepiadae* is expected, but the letter after *d* is not in the least like *a* and probably *Asclepiade* was meant. At the end of the line neither *Phari* nor *Fari* seems to suit; *iussi* looks more possible, and *sal(ulem)* would then be almost inevitable for the intervening word.

9. Some form of *dimittere* naturally suggests itself, and perhaps *dimitti* or *dimittimus* was meant, though the fifth letter is much more like *a* or *r* than *t*; cf. however the *t* of *datum* (?) in l. 12. The first letter might be *b*. Wilcken, who has contributed to the decipherment of these lines, proposes *dimittite de F[ar]o* (better *P[haro]*), but for this there is strictly a stroke too much.

10. One of the two letters after *co* is apparently *m*.

12-13. *datum* accords with the following figures, and *Presenti* is sufficiently suitable in the next line; the remains of the letter before the lacuna apparently exclude *e[ti] Albino*.

## 1272. COMPLAINT OF THEFT.

13.9 × 9.6 cm.

A. D. 144.

This document belongs to a well-known type, which has been discussed at length by Mitteis, *Leipz. Sitz.-Ber.* pp. 63 sqq. and *Grundz.* pp. 33 sqq. Owing to the mutilation of the beginning it is uncertain whether the petition was addressed to the strategus or, as frequently happens, to a centurion or lesser officer of police. The suggestion in l. 19 of a personal inspection perhaps points rather to the latter.

. . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . μετὰ κυ]ρίου Σ[αραπίωνος . . . . . ἀπὸ  
 [τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ]εως. [ . . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ]ην ἡμε[τέραν . . . . .  
 5 [ . . . . . ]ον ἀπέκλε[ισα τὴν θύ]ραν τῆς . . .  
 [ . . . . . ] οἰκίας μου καὶ τὴν τοῦ πεσσοῦ θύ-  
 [ραν, καὶ ἐ]πανελθοῦσα εὔρον ὃ εἶχ[ο]ν ἐν τῷ  
 [πεσσοῦ π]ανάριον ἐξηλωμένον βαστα-  
 [χθε]ντων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κλαλίων χρυσῶν  
 10 [δύο ὀ]λκῆς μναιαίων τεσσάρων καὶ Βήσι-  
 [ος χρ]υσοῦ καὶ κλαλίων ἀργυρῶν μεγά-  
 [λων] δύο καὶ τὴν τοῦ πεσσοῦ θύραν ἐπηρ-  
 [μ]ένην. ὑπόνοιαν οὖν ἔχουσα κατὰ  
 [τ]ῶν γειτόνων μου Ἑράτος Καλάθου

- 15 [γερ]δίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐργαζομένω[ν  
 διὰ τὸ εὐνπέρβατον εἶναι τὴν οἰκίαν μου  
 ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἡρᾶτος οἰκίας ἐπιδίδωμι  
 τὸ ἀναφόριον καὶ ἀξιῶ, ἐὰν δόξῃ σοι, πα-  
 ραγενέσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοψίαν καὶ ἀχθῆ-  
 20 ναι ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν Ἡρᾶν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ οὖς  
 αὐτοὺς ὀνομάσει καὶ τὴν δέουσαν ἐξέ-  
 [τ]ασιν γενέσθαι, ἵνα δυνηθῶ τῇ σῇ βοη-  
 θείᾳ ἀνευρεῖν τὰ ἡμέτερα. (ἔτους) η Ἀντοκράτορος  
 [Κ]αίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου  
 25 [Σ]εβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Ἀθῦρ ιδ. (2nd hand) Διεμοῦς  
 [Κολ]ούθου ἐπιδέδωκα. Σαραπίων  
 [ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κτλ.

‘[To . . . from Diemous daughter of Colluthus, of the city of Oxyrhynchus], with her guardian Sarapion son of . . ., of the said city. . . I shut up the door of my house and the door of the terrace, and on my return I found that a box which I had in the terrace had been unfastened and that there had been abstracted from it two gold bracelets of the weight of four minae, a gold figure of Bes, and two large silver bracelets, and that the door of the terrace had been lifted. As I have some suspicion against my neighbours Heras son of Kalathus, weaver, and those working with him, because my house is easy of access from the house of Heras, I present this petition and request that, if you think fit, you should come for a personal inspection, and that Heras and his associates, whose names he will himself give, should be brought before you and the proper inquiry made, in order that I may be able with your assistance to discover my property.’ Date and signature of Diemous written for her by Sarapion.

2-3. Σ[sαραπίωνος] is derived from l. 26.

5. Very slight remains of a letter or two shortly before the supposed ρ are insufficient to confirm the supplement suggested.

6. For the signification of *πεσσός* see P. Munich 11. 20, 27, notes, and cf. 9. 33, 12. 16, 22, P. Brit. Mus. 210. 19 (*Journ. Phil.* xxii, p. 272), 978. 10 (iii, p. 233), 1023. 19 (iii, p. 268), Flor. 5. 9.

10. Silver and bronze images of Bes are mentioned in a list of temple furniture in B. G. U. 387. ii. 9, 11.

16. εὐνπέρβατον: cf. P. Fay. 110. 9, where the same compound is to be recognized (Wilcken, *ap. Preisigke, Berichtigungsliste*, i, p. 131).



## (d) CONTRACTS.

## 1273. MARRIAGE-CONTRACT.

34·1 × 15·5 cm.

A. D. 260.

A marriage-contract between the bridegroom and the mother of the bride, in protocol form like 496, which is more elaborate, and 905, which is shorter, than 1273. The document is of interest as representing a later age than the bulk of the marriage-contracts of the Roman period hitherto published, which, with the exception of the fragmentary C. P. R. 21 of A. D. 230, belong to the first two centuries. But though the date in the present case is the middle of the third century, and the contracting parties are all Aurelii, the various clauses, apart from the usual stipulatory formula, adhere closely to the Greek type. The specification of the dowry, which consisted, as usual, partly of jewellery, partly of clothing, contains several rare words.

It is remarkable that the contract includes the stereotyped clause providing for future publication (*δημοσίωσις διὰ τοῦ καταλογείου*, ll. 37-40). From this one of two conclusions appears to follow, each of which conflicts with prevailing views. Either this document in spite of its objective style was a privately-drawn agreement, or notarial contracts could go through the same process of formal publication as *χειρόγραφα*. Of these alternatives the former is much the more probable. A certain instance of a contract of marriage drawn up in the form of an *ιδιόγραφος συγγραφή* and afterwards published has occurred in 1266. 16 sqq. (see the note *ad loc.*); and there are certain formal features in 1273—the absence of any opening specification of locality, and the position of the date at the end (contrast e. g. 496)—which, though indecisive, are not without significance. If this view is correct, an objective form is a less trustworthy criterion of a notarial contract than has been supposed (cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.* pp. 61-2).

Ἄγαθῇ τύχῃ. ἐξέδετο Αὐρηλία Θαῆσις Εὐδαίμονος μητρὸς Ἑρα-  
 ἴδος ἀπ' Ὀξύρυγχων πόλεως μετὰ συνεστῶτος Αὐρηλίου Θέωνος  
 τοῦ καὶ Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει τὴν ἑαυτῆς θυγατέραν Αὐρηλίαν  
 Ταυσεῖριν πρὸς γάμον ἀνδρὶ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀρσινόῳ Τρύφωνος μητρὸς Δη-  
 5 μητρίας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, ᾧ προσφέρει ἢ αὐτὴ ἐκδότις ἐπὶ τῇ  
 αὐτῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτῆς καὶ γαμουμένη ἐν φερνῇ χρυσοῦ κοινῷ σταθμῶ  
 Ὀξυρυγχιτικῶ περιτραχήλιον μανιάκην καλούμενον ἔχον λίθον  
 ὀγκῆς χωρὶς τοῦ [λί]θ[ο]υ τετάρτων δεκατριῶν, ἀπτόδιον ἔχον  
 λίθους πέντε περικεχρωμένους ὀγκῆς χωρὶς τῶν λίθων τετάρτων

- 10 τεσσάρων, ἐνωτίων ζεῦγος ἔχον πείνας δέκα ὀλκῆς χωρὶς τῶν πει-  
 νῶν τετάρτων τριῶν, δακτυλίδιον μεικρὸν τετά[ρ]ταις ἡμισυ,  
 καὶ ἐν ἱματίοις ἐν συντειμήσει δελματικομαφόρτην ἀργέντινον  
 ἔνσημον δραχμῶν διακοσίων ἐξήκοντα, χιτώνιον λευκὸν μονα-  
 χὸν κροσ(σ)ωτὸν ἔνσημον δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα, δελματι-  
 15 κομαφόρτην καλλάινον δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν, ἕτερον δελματικομα-  
 φ[ό]ρ[τ]ην λευκὸν προπόρφυρον δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν, ὡς εἶναι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐ-  
 τὸ τῆν ὄλην φερνήν χρυσοῦ κοινοῦ μναγιαῖον ἐν τετάρτας τέσσαρας  
 ἡμισυ καὶ συντειμήσεως ἱματίων δραχμὰς ἑξακοσίας εἴκοσι,  
 πάντα κεφαλαί[ο]ν οἷς οὐδὲν προσεγράφη, περὶ ἧς προκειμένης φερνῆς  
 20 ἐπ[ε]ρωτηθεὶς ἢ ἐκδότης Αὐρηλία Θαῆσις ὠμολόγησεν ὁ γαμῶν  
 Αὐρη[λί]ος Ἀρσίνοος ἐσχηκέναι ἀριθμοῦ πλήρεις ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου  
 σταθμοῦ καὶ συντειμήσεως. συνβιούτωσαν οὖν ἀλλήλοις οἱ γαμου-  
 ντες ἀμέμπτως φυλάσσοντες τὰ τοῦ γάμου δίκαια, ὁ δὲ γαμῶν  
 ε . [ . . ] . χορηγεῖ[τω] τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ δέοντα πάντα κατὰ δύναμιν.  
 25 ἐ[ὰ]ν δ[ε], ὁ [μ]η εἰ[ρή], ἐκ διαφορᾶς ἀπα[λλαγή] τῶν γ[α]μουμένων γένηται,  
 ἀπ[ο]δοτῶν ὁ γαμῶν τῇ ἐκδοτιδί, [ἐ]ὰν περιῆ, εἰ δ[ε] μή, τῇ γαμουμένῃ,  
 τῆ[ν] π[ρ]οκειμένην φερνήν πλήρη ἐν ἡμέρ[αι]ς ἐξήκοντα ἀφ' ἧς ἐὰν  
 ἀ[ί]τημα γένηται, τὰ μὲν χρυσία κατ' ἀ[ρ]θ[μ]οῖσι τοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάστου σταθμοῦ,  
 ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ συντειμήσεως ἱματίων ἀίρεσις ἔσται περὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν  
 30 γαμουμένην ἔχειν αὐτὰ τῆς τότε ἐσομένης αὐτῶν συντειμήσεως  
 καὶ λαβεῖν [τ]ὸ ἐνδέον ἐν ἀρ[γ]υρίῳ ἢ αὐτὴν τὴν προκειμένην συντείμη-  
 σιν, καὶ [τ]ῆν τούτων πάντων τρίψιν καὶ ἀπουσίαν εἶναι πρὸς τὸν γαμου-  
 ντα. [ἐ]ὰν [δὲ] καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς ἔγκυος ἦ {ν} ἢ γαμουμένη, δότω αὐτῇ  
 ὁ γαμῶν εἰς λόγον δαπάνης λοχείας δραχμὰς τεσσαράκοντα. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς  
 35 ἀπαιτήσεως τῆς πρ[ο]κειμένης φερνῆς ἢ πρᾶξις ἔσται τοῖς περὶ τὴν γα-  
 μουμένην παρά τῆ τοῦ γαμουντος καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων.  
 κυρία ἢ συγγραφὴ δισση [γρα]φείσα πρὸς τὸ ἐκάτερον ἔχειν μοναχόν,  
 ἢνπερ ὅπη-  
 νίκα ἐὰν αἰρῶνται ἢ καὶ τις αὐτῶν δημοσιώσει διὰ τοῦ καταλογείου  
 οὐ προσδεόμενος τῆς τοῦ ἐτέρου μεταλήψεως οὐδὲ ἐτέρας εὐδοκίσεως  
 40 διὰ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν εὐδοκεῖν τῇ ἐσομένῃ δημοσιώσει, περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα  
 ὀρθῶς καλῶς γείνεσθαι ἀλλήλους ἐπερωτήσαντ[ε]ς ὠμολόγησαν.  
 (ἔτους) ζ' Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ  
 Πουπλίου

Λικι[νν]ί[ο]ν Ούαλεριανού Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν  
Εὐτυχῶν

καὶ Π[ο]υπλ[ί]ο]ν Λικιννίου Κορνηλίου Σαλωνείνου Ούαλεριανού τοῦ  
ἐπιφανεστάτου

- 45 Καίσα[ρ]ος Σεβαστῶν Μεχειρ β. (2nd hand) Αὐρηλία Θαῆσις ἐξεδόμην  
τὴν θυγατέρα μου πρὸς γάμον τῷ προτεταγμένῳ  
Ἀρσινόῳ καὶ προσήνεγκα αὐτῷ τὴν προκειμένην φερ-  
νὴν ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖσα ὠμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος  
Θέων ὁ καὶ Νεπωτιανὸς συνέστην αὐτῇ καὶ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ  
50 αὐ[τ]ῆς μὴ εἰδυῖης γράμματα. (3rd hand) Αὐρήλιος Ἀρσίνουος  
[ἔσ]χον τὴν {τὴν} προκειμένην φερνήν  
καὶ ἔάν, ὃ μὴ εἶη, ἀπαλλαγὴ γένη-  
ται, ἀποδώσω ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπ-  
ε[ρ]ωτηθεῖς ὠμολόγησα.

1. ἐξέδοτο. ηραΐδος Pap. 8. ε of εχον corr. from α. 9. τεταρτῶ Pap. 11. 1.  
τετάρτης ἡμίσιος. 12. ἱματίοις Pap.; so in ll. 18, 29. 15. καλλαῖνον Pap. 20. 1. ὑπὸ τῆς  
ἐκδότιδος Αὐρηλίας Θαῆσιος, or else ἐπ[ε]ρώτησεν for -θείς. 29. τῇ Pap. 36. παντῶ Pap.  
43. ευτυχῶ Pap. 44. Third ι of λικιννίου corr. from ο. 49. ὑπερ Pap. 50. ειδυῖης  
Pap. 51. η of προκειμενην and ην of φερνην corr. 52. η of μη corr. from ο.

‘For good fortune. Aurelia Thaësis daughter of Eudaemon and Heraïs, of Oxyrhynchus, acting with Aurelius Theon also called Nepotianus and however he is styled, has given her daughter Aurelia Tausiris in marriage to the husband Aurelius Arsinoüs son of Tryphon and Demetria, of the said city, to whom the said giver contributes as the dowry of her said daughter the bride in common gold on the Oxyrhynchite standard a necklace of the kind called *maniaces*, having a stone and weighing apart from the stone 13 quarters, a brooch (?) with 5 stones set in gold, weighing apart from the stones 4 quarters, a pair of ear-rings with 10 pearls weighing apart from the pearls 3 quarters, a small ring weighing  $\frac{1}{2}$  quarter, and in clothing at a valuation a silvery striped Dalmatian veil worth 260 drachmae, a white, single, tasselled, striped frock worth 160 drachmae, a turquoise-coloured Dalmatian veil worth 100 drachmae, another white Dalmatian veil with a purple border worth 100 drachmae, making the total of the whole dowry 1 mina  $4\frac{1}{2}$  quarters of common gold, and for the valuation of the clothing 620 drachmae, a sum total to which no addition has been made; and questioned concerning the aforesaid dowry by the giver of the bride Aurelia Thaësis, the bridegroom Aurelius Arsinoüs agreed that he had received the full number at the aforesaid weight and valuation. Let husband and wife therefore live blamelessly together, observing the duties of marriage, and the husband shall supply his wife with all necessaries in proportion to his means; but if—which heaven forbid—in consequence of an estrangement a separation of the parties takes place, the husband shall restore to the giver of the bride, if she be living, or if not, to the bride, the aforesaid dowry in full within 60 days from the day on which a demand for restoration is made, the gold objects in accordance with the amount of the weight in each case, while, in respect of the clothes at

a valuation, the bride's representatives shall have the choice of keeping them at the valuation to be then made and receiving the balance in silver, or receiving the aforesaid valuation, the responsibility for the wear and loss of all these resting with the husband. If at the time of the separation the bride should be pregnant, the husband shall give her on account of the expenses of the birth 40 drachmae; and in connexion with the demand of the aforesaid dowry the bride's representatives shall have the right of execution upon both the husband and all his property. This contract is valid, being written in duplicate so that each party may have one copy, and whenever they or one of them chooses, he shall make it public through the bureau, without requiring the concurrence of the other side or any further consent, because both sides now agree to the future publication, and to each other's questions whether this is done rightly and fairly they have given their assent. The 7th year of the Emperors and Caesars Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices and Publius Licinius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus, the most noble Caesar, Augusti, Mecheir 2. (Signed) I, Aurelia Thaēsis, have given my daughter in marriage to the above mentioned Arsinoüs and have made over to him the aforesaid dowry as aforesaid, and in answer to the formal question have declared my consent. I, Aurelius Theon also called Nepotianus, was associated with her and wrote on her behalf, as she is illiterate. I, Aurelius Arsinoüs, have received the aforesaid dowry, and if—which heaven forbid—a separation take place, I will restore it as aforesaid, and in answer to the formal question I have declared my consent.'

2. μετὰ συνεστῶτος : after the introduction of the *constitutio Antonina* women could in virtue of the *ius liberorum* dispense with a *κύριος* (e. g. 1277. 2), but his place is not infrequently taken by a *συνεστῶς*; cf. 912. 4, note, and Mitteis, *Grundz.* p. 252.

6-7. σταθμῶ Ὀξυρρυχιτικῶ : cf. 496. 3, where l. Ὀξυρρυχειτ[ικῶ] for Ὀξυρρυχειτ[η], and 912. 6, where l. [Ὀξυρρυχιτικῶ].

8. ἀπτῶδιον seems to be a new word. Possibly it might be restored also in 496. 3, though the very faint vestiges cannot be said to suggest it.

10. πείνας : cf. P. Par. 10. 9-10 δέσιω ἔχων χρυσίου ἐπισήμου μυαεία γ, πίνας ι.

12. δερματικομαφόρτην : cf. 114. 5 δερματικομαφόρτιν, where the ρ, as we suggested, is for λ.

13. ἔνσημος occurs as an epithet of gold in Tzetzes, i. 628. For its use here cf. e. g. P. Tebt. 406. 14 κιτώνιον . . . λακωνόσημον, 17 κολόβιον . . . δίσημον.

17. With the form μυαγαίον cf. e. g. μυαγαίον in 912. 6, and Mayser, *Grammatik*, pp. 167-8.

24. κα[ι ἐπ]ιχορηγεί[τω] (cf. 906. 4-5, B. G. U. 1045. 18, C. P. R. 27. 12) is hardly to be read and ἔτι for καί is also unsuitable. In 905. 10 there is a lacuna before χορηγείτω at this point, and 496. 8 has καὶ χορηγείτω ὁ γαμῶν.

25. For the restorations cf. l. 52.

29. περὶ τοῖς is perhaps a mistake for τοῖς, due to the following περὶ τήν; cf. however 496. 15 ἐκλογῆς οὔσης περὶ τήν γαμουμένην ἐὰν αἰρῶται (*sic*)—unless there too (τοῖς) περὶ . . . αἰρῶ(ν)ται should be read.

33-4. In 496. 10 the corresponding payment for λοχεία is 60 drachmae.

44. The full name of Saloninus, the younger son of Gallienus, here occurs for the first time in a papyrus, and the restoration proposed by P. M. Meyer in P. Giessen 50. 34 is confirmed. A similar date is found in P. Rylands 110. 21-4. In P. Brit. Mus. 211 (ii, p. 266), if the year has been rightly read, the names Σαλωνίνου Οὐαλεριανοῦ are omitted.

## 1274. APPOINTMENT OF A REPRESENTATIVE.

16.3 × 14.4 cm.

Third century.

A contract whereby Aurelia Aristous, widow of a basilicogrammateus of the Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρα, appoints a representative to go to Alexandria in order to register before the *procurator usiacus* the value of the property of her late husband on behalf of the heir, who was a minor, though a gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus (l. 13, note). In l. 15 begins an enumeration of various debts chargeable to the estate in connexion with Aristous's dowry and other claims of which the description is imperfectly preserved. The ordinary formalities concerning the registration of inheritances in the third century are illustrated by (1) P. Amh. 72 (A.D. 246), a return addressed to the deputy-strategus of the Hermopolite nome by a woman, announcing that the property of her uncle, who had died intestate, devolved upon her and was worth 3 talents, and stating that she had sent the *διακατοχή*, i. e. *agnitio bonorum possessionis* (cf. 1201, Mitteis, *Grundz.* p. 247) to the praefect; (2) P. Rylands 109 (A.D. 235), a declaration addressed to the strategus of the same nome by two minors through their guardian, that property inherited under their father's will was worth about 10 talents; (3) 1114 (A.D. 237), a Latin *professio* (called an *ἀπογραφή* in l. 34) with a Greek affidavit (*μαρτυροποίημα*) by a man stating that his wife had died intestate, and that the inheritance, which passed to their two daughters, was worth 200,000 sesterces and exempt from the succession duty of 5 per cent. 1114 was drawn up before an official belonging to a *procuratio*, of which the description is lost, but which seemed to be that of the *procurator vicesimae*. It is possible, however, in the light of 1274. 10 that the office in question was that of the *procurator usiacus*, a high financial official who administered the *patrimonium*, and ranked immediately below the idiologus (cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 158).

Ἀύρηλία Ἀριστοῦς θυγάτηρ Ἀύρηλιό[υ] Ἡρώδου Ἀπίωνος γυμνασι-  
 αρχήσαντος βουλευτοῦ τῆς Ὀξύρυχειτῶν πόλεως μετὰ κυρί[ο]ν  
 τοῦ δεδομένου μοι κα[τὰ] τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη Μάρκου Ἀύρη[λί]ου Νεῖ[κ]ο-  
 κλέους Ζωίλου γυμ[νασι]αρχήσαντος τῆς αὐ[τῆς] π[ό]λι[τ]ε[ω]ς Ἀύρη[λ]ί[ω]  
 Ἡ[ρ]οκλ[εί]δῃ τῷ κ[αί]

5 Λουκίω Λουκίου καὶ ὡς χρηματίζεις χαίρειν. ἐπεὶ ἀπευκατίας μ[ο]ι  
 καταγγελείσης φάσ[ε]ως περὶ τελευτῆς τοῦ μακαρέιτου μου ἀνδ[ρ]οῦ  
 Ἀχιλλίωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀπολλωνίου ὄντος ἐν ἧ ἦν ἐπικε-  
 χειρισμένος βασιλικῇ γραμματεία Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρας, ὁμολογῶ

- ἀποσυνεστακέναι σε κατὰ ταῦτά μου τὰ γράμματα κατελθεῖν εἰς Ἀλεξάν-  
 10 δρειαν καὶ ἀπογράψασθαι παρὰ τῷ κρατίστῳ τῶν οὐσιακῶν ἐπι-  
 τρόπῳ ἐξ ὀνόματός μου ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀμφοτέρων ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 ἀνδρός μου υἱοῦ καὶ [κλ]ηρονόμου Αὐρηλίου Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλω-  
 νίου γυμνασιάρχου τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἔτι ὄντος ἐντὸς τοῦ Λαιτωρίου  
 νόμου τὴν ὑπαρξίν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν οὔσαν τιμῆματος δουκηναρίας.  
 15 ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆ[s] ὑποστάσεως δηλῶ ὀφείλειν τὸν ἄνδρα μου  
 ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆ[s] προσε]νεχθείσης αὐτῷ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γ[α]μουμένη  
 αὐτῷ προικὸς [ἐν τε κοσ]μαρίοις χρυσοῖς καὶ ἱματίοις καὶ ἄλλοις  
 [σ]υντιμῆσεω[s] ἀργυρίου ταλάν]των δ[ύ]ο καὶ δραχμῶν τρισχειλί-  
 ων με[. . . . .] . ἰα προ . [.]ιο[ν]ια . [.] . . . [.] ἐν [σ]υντιμῆσει  
 20 δραχμῶ[ν] . . . χειλί]ων πεντακοσίων [.] . . . .] . . ἔχρη ἀπὸ  
 [τ]ῆς ιδίας [ 31 letters ] ταλά[ντ]ω[ν]  
 δύο κα[ὶ] δραχμῶν 22 ,, ] . . ὑπ[α]ρχόν-  
 των μ[ο]ι 31 ,, ] τάλαντα  
 τρία καὶ δ[ι]ραχμὰς

4. ζῶϊλον Pap.                      12. υἱου Pap.                      14. ὑπαρξιν Pap.                      15. ὑποστάσεως Pap.  
 17. ἱματίοις Pap.                      21. ἰδίας Pap.                      22. ὑπ[α]ρχοντων Pap.

‘ Aurelia Aristous daughter of Aurelius Herodes son of Apion, ex-gymnasiarch, senator of the city of Oxyrhynchus, with the guardian given to me in accordance with a Roman custom, Marcus Aurelius Nicocles son of Zoilus, ex-gymnasiarch of the said city, to Aurelius Heraclides also called Lucius, son of Lucius, and however you are styled, greeting. In consequence of the lamentable news announced to me concerning the death of my blessed husband Achillion also called Apollonius, son of Apollonius, while at his post of basilicogrammateus of the territory of the Alexandrians, I agree that I have by this bond appointed you to go down to Alexandria and register with his excellency the *procurator usiacus* in my name on behalf of the son of myself and my said husband, and his heir, Aurelius Dionysius also called Apollonius, gymnasiarch of the said city, who is still subject to the Laetorian law, all his (Achillion's) property, valued at two hundred thousand sesterces. And out of this estate I declare that my husband owes me from the dowry which was brought to him upon my marriage with him consisting of gold ornaments and clothing and other objects valued at two talents and 3000 drachmae of silver . . . ’

5. ἀπενκταίως: cf. 1114. 24 ἀπενκταίως . . . τελευτήσαι.

8. The Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρα, being administered as a distinct nome, naturally had a basilicogrammateus.

9. ἀποσυνιστάναι (cf. e. g. 977, P. Grenf. ii. 71. 5, B. G. U. 1093. 7) or συνιστάναι are the technical terms for the appointment of representatives; cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.* p. 261.

13. Cf. B. G. U. 378. 21-2 τυγχάνω γὰρ γεγραφώς [τ]οῦτο ἔτι ἐντὸς ὧν τοῦ Λαιτωρίου νόμου and B. G. U. 611. i. 6. The *lex Laetoria* or *Plaetoria*, which was passed before 190 B. C.,

protected persons under the age of twenty-five from fraud, and the phrase ἐντὸς τοῦ Λαιτωρίου νόμου is equivalent to ἀφήλιξ. For other instances of minors as gymnasiarchs cf. 54, C. P. R. 8. 9, B. G. U. 324. 1, and Milne, *Catal. of Greek Inscriptions in the Cairo Museum*, no. 9314 Ἄνουβίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπίων Ἡρώως γυμνασιάρχης αὐτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν (ἐτῶν) ια.

14. δουκηναρίας: cf. 1114. 15 *eamque hereditatem esse ducena[r]am*. If this means 200,000 sesterces, as is most likely, it should be equivalent to 50,000 denarii or 200,000 drachmae, i. e. 33 talents 2,000 dr.

20. Either *δισχειλίων* or *τρισχειλίων* may be read. This sum added to that mentioned in ll. 21-2, which may be a repetition of that in l. 18, perhaps make the three talents odd of ll. 23-4, but the last few lines of the document are so much mutilated that the relation to each other of the different amounts remains quite uncertain.

## 1275. ENGAGEMENT OF MUSICIANS.

16·7 × 10·4 cm.

Third century.

A contract between five *προστάται* of Souis, a village in the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome (cf. note on l. 25), and the manager of a company of musicians whose services are engaged for a five days' festival. Similar agreements concerning village entertainments are P. Brit. Mus. 331 (ii, p. 154), Gen. 73, Flor. 74, Grenf. ii. 67; cf. also 475, 519, 731, and 1025.

[Ο]μολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις (2nd hand). Ἀν]ρήλιοι Ὀν-  
νοφρις Ἀμμο[νίου] (1st hand) μητρὸς  
[Θα]ϊσοῦτος καὶ Ἀφύγχ[ις Ἡ]ρα[κ]λάτος μητρ(ρὸς)  
Τ[α]υσείριος καὶ Ἐρμ[ο]γένης Διονυσίου  
5 μητρ(ρὸς) Ἡρακ[λο]ῦτος καὶ [. . . . .]σις Φ[ι]λότρου  
μητρ[ρ]ὸς Ἀριστοῦτος κ[αὶ . . . . .] Ἀμμ[ω]νίου,  
οἱ πέντε π[ρο]στάται κώμης Σούεως,  
καὶ Κοπρέως Σαραπάμμων[ος] ὁ προεσ-  
τὼς συμφωνίας ἀλλητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν,  
10 οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ὀννώφριν παρειλη-  
φέναι τὸν Κοπρέα μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ  
συμφωνίας λειτουργήσοντας τοῖς  
ἀπὸ τῆς προκιμένης κώμης ἐφ' ἡμέ-  
ρας ἑορτῶν πέντε ἀπὸ δεκάτης Φαμε-  
15 νῶθ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτ(ος) β (ἔτους) μισθοῦ ἡμε-  
ρησίως δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα  
καὶ ἄρτων ζευγῶν τεσσαράκοντα  
ἐλαίου ραφανίου κοτυλῶν ὀκτῶ καὶ

ὄλων τῶν ἡμερῶν οἴνου κεραμίου ἐνὸς  
 20 ὄξους κεραμίου ἐνός, ἐνδεῦθεν δὲ  
 ὁμολογῖ ὁ Κοπρεὺς ἐσχηκέναι εἰς λό-  
 [γο]ν ἀρ(ρ)αβῶν[ος] δραχμὰς εἴκοσι. παρα-  
 λήμψ[ον]ται δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀννώφριν  
 [τ]ὸν Κ[οπρ]έα μετὰ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ συμφωνίας  
 25 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁ[ξ]υρυγχείτου διὰ ὄνων δέκα καὶ ἀπο-  
 κ[α]ταστήσ[ου]σι εἰς τὴν προκιμένην κόμην  
 . . . . .

1. 1. Ὀννώφρις. 3. Ἰσουτος . . . ἀφυγ'χ[ις] Pap. 9. μουσικῶ Pap. 20. 1.  
 ἐντεῦθεν. 25. ο[ξ]υρυγχείτου Pap. 26. κωμῆ Pap.

'The Aurelii Onnophris son of Ammonius and Thaisous, Aphunchis son of Heraclas and Tausiris, Hermogenes son of Dionysius and Heraclous, . . . sis son of Philotas and Aristous, and . . . son of Ammonius, all five presidents of the village of Souis, and Copreus son of Sarapammon, chief of a company of flute-players and musicians, mutually acknowledge that on the one hand Onnophris and his associates have engaged Copreus with his company to perform for the inhabitants of the aforesaid village for five festal days beginning on the tenth of Phamenoth of the present year at the daily pay of one hundred and forty drachmae, forty pairs of loaves, and eight cotylae of raphanus-oil, and for the whole five days one jar of wine and one jar of vinegar; and on the other hand Copreus forthwith acknowledges that he has received as earnest-money twenty-drachmae. Onnophris and his associates shall receive Copreus and his company from the Oxyrhynchite nome with ten asses, and shall transport them to the aforesaid village . . .'

7. π[ρο]στάται κόμης Σούεως: cf. 299. 4 προσ[τ]ίτη Νεμέρων and 239. 6 sqq., a declaration on oath by an inhabitant of Psobthis μηδεμίαν λογιάν γεγονέναι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ . . . μηδὲ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν προστήσε[σ]θ(αι) κόμης. In P. Gen. 73, where a dancer makes an agreement with a προστάτης to perform at Philadelphia, a κολλήγιον is mentioned, and in the similar contract P. Grenf. ii. 67 the title ἡγούμενος συνόδου κά[μ]η[ς] Βακχιάδος seems to be equivalent to προστάτης. In the note on 299. 4 it was suggested that the προστάτης was the president of the village πρεσβύτεροι, but the occurrence here of five προστάται acting together disposes of that hypothesis; cf. P. Hamburg 35. 2-4 Οὐαλέριος καὶ Σαραπίων καὶ Γεβνῆς καὶ οἱ λοιποί, οἱς ἐκέλευσας (sc. ὁ στρατηγός) προσταθῆναι κόμης Φιλαδέλφεια[ς]. Meyer supposes that these προστάται were the πρεσβύτεροι, but the former was the wider term, as is clear from P. Rylands 122. 6-8 τοῖς προεστῶσει τῆς κόμης νομοφύλακι καὶ πρ[ε]σβυτέροις.

15. β (ἔτους): κ could be read, in which case the reign of Caracalla would be meant; but a later date in the third century is preferable on palaeographical grounds.

16-20. In P. Flor. 74 two παντόμμοι with their συμφωνία for a five days' engagement receive 136 drachmae, 30 pairs of loaves, 2 βουκέλλαι, and 2 drachmae ὑπὲρ τιμῆς . . .

25. ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁ[ξ]υρυγχείτου presents a difficulty, for Souis was not outside the Oxyrhynchite nome but in the κάτω τοπαρχία of it (1285. 139). The writer perhaps meant the metropolis, which is likely to have been the head-quarters of Copreus; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 233 (ii, p. 154) and P. Grenf. ii. 67, where in the corresponding clauses concerning the transport of the performers ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν apparently refer, as remarked by Wilcken, *Chrest.* pp. 574-5, to Arsinoë.



## 1276. SALE OF HOUSE-PROPERTY.

31.9 × 19.4 cm.

A. D. 249.

A contract for the sale of half a house to the owner of the other half for 700 drachmae, with the signatures of the vendors written in rude uncials. The formula closely resembles that of 1200. 15-43.

Αὐρήλιοι Ἀγαθὸς Δ[αίμ]ων Γεμείνου μητρὸς Νείκης καὶ Μείθοῦς  
 Ἀπίωνος μητρὸς  
 Ἑραΐδος ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως, ἡ δὲ Μείθοῦς χωρὶς  
 κυρίου χρημα-  
 τίζουσα κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμ[αίω]ν ἔθνη τέκνων δικαίῳ, Αὐρηλίῳ Σέρηνῳ τῷ  
 καὶ Σαρα-  
 πίωνι Ἀγαθεί[ου] μητρὸς Ταπ[ο]σειριάδο[ς] ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως  
 χαίρειν. ὁμ[ο]λο-  
 5 γούμεν πεπρακέναι σοι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον τὸ ὑπάρχον  
 ἡμ[ῶ]ν ἐξ Ἰσου εἶν  
 τῇ αὐτῇ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Μυροβαλάνου ἡμ[ῶ]ν μέρ[ος]  
 οἰκίας παλα[τ]ῆς  
 καὶ τῶν ταύτης χρηστήριων πάντων κοινωικῆς πρὸς σὲ κατὰ τὸ  
 λοιπὸν ἡμῶν.  
 τῆς δὲ ὄλης γείτονες νότου ρύμη τυφλῆ βορρᾶ Θεωνίδος Ὡρου ἀπη-  
 λιώτου Δι[ο]-  
 γενίδος Διογένους καὶ ἄλλων λιβὸς δημοσία ρύμη. τὰς δὲ συμπε-  
 φ[ω]νημ[έν]ας  
 10 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τιμῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν μέρ[ους] τῆς οἰκίας σὺν  
 χρη[σ]τ[η]ρίοις ἀργυ-  
 ρίου Σεβαστῶν νομίσματος δραχμὰς ἑπτακοσίας αὐτόθι ἀπέσχομεν  
 παρὰ σοῦ  
 ἐξ Ἰσου διὰ χειρὸς ἐκ πλήρους, διὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κρατεῖν σε καὶ  
 κυριεύειν σὺν ἐγγόνιοις  
 καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ μεταληψομένοις τοῦ πωλουμένου σοι ὑφ' ἡμῶν  
 ὡς πρόκειται  
 ἡμῶν μέρ[ους] τῆς οἰκίας] κα[ὶ] χ[ρ]ῆσ[θ]αι καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ  
 αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐὰν αἰρήῃ, ὅπερ

15 καὶ παρεξόμεθά σοι βέβειον διὰ παντὸς ἀπὸ πάντων πάσῃ βεβεώσει  
καὶ καθαρὸν ἀπὸ  
τε ἀπογραφῆς ἀνδρῶν καὶ γεωργίας βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσιακῆς γῆς καὶ  
παντὸς εἶδους  
καὶ ἀπὸ ὀφειλῆς καὶ κατοχῆς παντοίας καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν  
ἄλλου. κυρία ἢ πρᾶ-  
σις δισσῇ γραφείσα, ἥνπερ ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν αἰρήῃ δημοσιώσεις διὰ τοῦ  
καταλογείου  
οὐ προσδεόμενος με[τ]αδόσεως οὐδὲ ἐτέρας συνευδοκῆσεως ἡμῶν διὰ  
τὸ ἐν-

20 τεῦθεν εὐδοκεῖν ἢ[μ]ᾶς τῇ γεινομένη ὑπὸ σοῦ δημοσιώσει, περὶ δὲ  
τοῦ ταῦτα

ὀρθῶς καλῶς γέινεσθαι ἐπερωτηθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ ὠμολογήσαμεν. (ἔτους) 5  
Αὐτοκρατόρων Kaisάρων Μάρκων Ἰουλιῶν Φιλίππων Καρπικῶν  
Μέγιστων

Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν Παῦνι.

2nd hand Αὐρηλία Μεειθοῦς Ἀπέωνος χωρεῖς κυρίου χρηματίζουσα τέκνων  
δικαίῳ

25 πέπρακα τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος σὺν τῷ Ἀγαθῷ Δέμονι τῆς οἰκείας καὶ  
ἀπέσχον

τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ ἥμισυ μέρος τῶν τῆς τειμῆς δραχμῶν ἑπτακοσίων καὶ βε-  
βαιώσω ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖσα ὠμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος  
Δίσκο-

[ρ]ος Θεώνος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ εἰδυείης γράμματα. (3rd hand)  
Αὐρήλιος Ἀγα-

[θ]ὸς Δαίμων Γεμείνου πέπρακα τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος τῆς οἰκί-

30 [α]ς καὶ ἀπέσχον τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ μέρος τῶν τῆς τειμῆς

[ἀ]ργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑπτακοσίων καὶ βεβαιώσω ὡς

[πρ]όκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος

[Σ]αραπάμμων Διογένης ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰ-

[δό]τος γράμματα.

1. μέιθους Pap.; so in l. 2.

12. ἴσου Pap.

13. ὤφ Pap.

24. l. Ἀπίωνος.

25. l. Δαίμωνι.

2. ηραῖδος Pap. 1. ἀμφότεροι.

15. l. βέβαιον . . . βεβαιώσει.

28. γ of εγραψα inserted above the line.

5. ὑπαρχον Pap.

22. ἰουλιων Pap.

33. l.

‘Aurelius Agathodaemon son of Geminus and Nice, and Aurelia Meithous daughter of Apion and Heraïs, both of Oxyrhynchus, Meithous acting without a guardian in accordance with Roman custom by right of her children, to Aurelius Serenus also called Sarapion, son of Agathinus and Taposirias, of the said city, greeting. We agree that we have sold to you from the present time henceforth for ever the half share of an old house and all appurtenances thereof owned by us in equal portions at the said city of Oxyrhynchus in the Myrobalanus quarter, jointly with you in respect of the remaining half share. The adjacent areas of the whole are on the south a blind street, on the north the house of Theonis daughter of Horus, on the east the house of Diogenis daughter of Diogenes and others, on the west a public street. The sum agreed upon between us for the price of the said half share of the house with the appurtenances, seven hundred drachmae of Imperial silver coin, we have forthwith received from you in equal portions from hand to hand in full, so that henceforward you and your descendants and successors shall possess and own the half share of the house sold to you by us as aforesaid and use and dispose of it in whatever way you choose; and we will guarantee to you the half share completely against all claims by every guarantee, free from persons’ property-returns and the cultivation of royal or patrimonial land and from every impost or debt or lien of any kind and all other liabilities whatsoever. This sale, written in duplicate, is valid, and you shall make it public through the bureau whenever you choose, without requiring a notification or any further concurrence on our part, because we now agree to the publication to be made by you, and in answer to your question whether this is rightly and fairly done we have given our assent. The 6th year of the Emperors and Caesars Marci Julii Philippi Carpici Maximi Germanici Maximi Pii Felices Augusti, Pauni.’ Signatures of the vendors.

19. με[τ]ᾰδόσεως: i. e. notification through the archidicastes and strategus, as exemplified in 719; cf. B. G. U. 983. 10 δημοσ[ω]σάσης ἀ[ὐτὸ] καὶ μ[ε]τ[α]δούσης [. . .], Jörs, *Z. Sav.* xxxiv, p. 154, Schwarz, *Hypothek und Hypallagma*, p. 86<sup>1</sup>.

## 1277. SALE OF A TRICLINIUM.

25 × 8.5 cm.

A. D. 255.

A contract for the purchase of a triclinium or dining-couch (cf. note on l. 7) with coverings and four cushions for 500 drachmae.

On the verso are two short and much effaced documents, the former of which contains a judgement of the praefect Basileus dated Mesore 25 of the fifth year. Since Mussius Aemilianus is known from 1201 to have been still in office in September A. D. 258, the fifth year is probably that of the Philippi, i. e. A. D. 248, and Basileus may be identified with the Aurelius Basileus who was praefect in A. D. 244–5 (P. Flor. 4). But, if so, he must be credited with a second period of office, since Claudius Valerius Firmus certainly held the praefecture in A. D. 246–7. Or possibly he is a distinct person, and the fifth year refers to the reign of Aurelian (A. D. 275) or Probus (A. D. 280).

Ἀὐρηλία Σαραπίαν Ἀρείου ἀστῆ  
χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματίζουσα τέκνων

- δικαίῳ κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθῃ Ἀυ-  
ρηλίῳ Θεῶνι Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ καὶ  
5 Ἀφύγχιος ἀπ' Ὀξυρ[ύ]χων πόλεως  
χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι  
σοι τρίκλι[ο]ν στρωμάτων λινῶν  
ποικιλτῶν διὰ ἑλ[ο]υ κα[ὶ] προσ-  
κεφάλαια τέσσαρα . . α καὶ λινᾶ τῆς  
10 αὐτῆς εἰδαίας τιμῆς δραχμῶν  
πεντακοσίων, / (δραχμαὶ) φ, ἅς καὶ ἐντεῦ-  
θεν ἀπέσχον. κυρία ἢ πρᾶσις  
ἀπλῆ γραφεῖσα καθαρὰ καὶ βεβαιώ-  
σω καὶ ἐπερώτημε ὡς πρόκειται.  
15 (ἔτους) β Ἀυτοκρατόρων Καισάρων  
Πουπλ[ί]ου Δικινίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ  
καὶ Πο[υ]πλίου Δικινίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ  
Γαλληνοῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων  
καὶ Πο[υ]πλίου Δικινίου Κορνηλίου  
20 Οὐαλερ[ί]ανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου  
Καίσα[ρος] Σεβαστῶν Μεσορῆ 15.  
2nd hand Α[ύ]ρη[λ]ία Σαραπιὰς πέπρακα τὸ  
τρίκλινον καὶ τὰ προσκεφάλαια  
καὶ ἀπέσχον τὰς τῆς τιμῆς (δραχμὰς) φ  
25 καὶ βεβαιώσω καὶ ἐπηρώτημαι  
ὡς πρό(κειται). Αὐρήλιος Ὀριγένης  
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς γράμ-  
ματα μὴ εἰδυείης.

2. τεκνῶ Pap.      4. ο of αμμωνιον corr.      10. 1. ιδίας.      12. υ of κυρια corr.  
from ai.      14. 1. ἐπηρώτημαι.      15. β corr. from α (?).

‘Aurelia Sarapias daughter of Arius, citizen, acting without a guardian by right of her children according to Roman custom, to Aurelius Theon son of Ammonius also called Aphunchis, of Oxyrhynchus, greeting. I acknowledge that I have sold to you a three-sided couch with linen coverings embroidered throughout, and four . . . linen cushions of the same quality for the price of five hundred drachmae, total 500 dr., which I thereupon received. This contract of sale of which there is a single copy, free from mistake, is valid, and I will guarantee the sale and have been asked the formal question, as aforesaid. The 2nd year of the Emperors and Caesars Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Germanici Maximi and Publius Licinius Cornelius Valerianus the most illustrious Caesar

Augusti, Mesore 16. (Signed) I, Aurelia Sarapias, have sold the couch and cushions and received the 500 dr. for the price and will guarantee the sale, and have been asked the formal question, as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Origenes, wrote on behalf of my mother, who is illiterate.

7. The *τρίκλιον* leased in P. Brit. Mus. 871 (iii, p. 269) is clearly a room (cf. B. G. U. 1115. 17), but here since no details are given concerning locality the word seems to mean rather the couch.

15. The figure of the year has been corrected, but whether from  $\alpha$  to  $\beta$  or from  $\delta$  to  $\epsilon$  is not quite certain. The Caesar mentioned in ll. 19-20 is the elder son of Gallienus, as in C. P. R. 176 of the 2nd year; cf. 1273. 44 (probably of the 7th year), where the younger son, Saloninus, is found, and P. Giessen 50. 34, note. Since the change took place in the 5th year and 1277 was written in Mesore, the presumption is in favour of the 2nd rather than the 5th year.

## 1278. DIVISION OF USUFRUCT OF A PIGEON-HOUSE.

22.6 x 10.4 cm.

A. D. 214.

An agreement between four persons, two of whom were minors, acting together, for dividing the revenues of a pigeon-house for four years, the two minors being given between them the usufruct of two years, which were not consecutive, and the two other parties that of a single year each. Contracts for the division of property occur with some frequency in the papyri, but not for the division of usufruct. The *ὁμολογία καρπίας* referred to in B. G. U. 985. 11 may have been analogous.

Ὁ[μ]ο[λ]ογούσι ἀλλήλοις Μ[άρκος Αὐρ]ήλ[ιο]ς Ἄν-  
 δρ[ό]νικος ὁ [κ]αὶ Μ[ί]θρης καὶ ὡς χ[ρη]ματίζει καὶ Αὐρη-  
 λία Διονυσιάς ἡ καὶ Χαιρημονὶς διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς  
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀμμωνίου ἀπ[ο]δεδειγμένου γυμνασιάρχου  
 5 βουλευτοῦ τῆς Ὁξυρυχειῶν πόλεως καὶ Διδύμη ἡ καὶ  
 Ἀπολλωνία καὶ Ἀητοδωρὶς ἡ καὶ Δ[ι]ονυσοθεωνὶς  
 ἀμφότεραι ἀφήλικες διὰ τῆς [μ]ητρὸς Πτολ[έ]μας θυγα-  
 τρὸς Διονυσοθέωνος γυμνασιάρχου τῆς αὐτῆς  
 Ὁξυρυχειῶν πόλεως, καὶ αὐτῆς διὰ Ἐπικράτους Διδύ-  
 10 μου, διειρηθῆσαι π[ρὸ]ς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν καρπείαν οὗ ἔχουσι  
 ἐξ ἴσου ἐν ἐποικίῳ ἀμπελικῷ ἀ[ν]τῶν κτήματος  
 Πέρκωπος λεγομένου περισήμ[ο]ν περιστερεῶνος  
 ἐμόρου ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη τέσσαρα ἔτι ἀπὸ α Θῶθ  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κγ (ἔτους) καὶ κεκληρῶσθαι τὰς μὲν ἀφήλι-  
 15 κας τὴν καρπέ[α]ν ἐτῶν δύο τοῦ τε ἐνεστῶτος κγ (ἔτους)

- [καὶ κ]ε (ἔτους) τὴν δὲ Αὐρηλίαν Διονυσιάδα τὴν καὶ Χαιρη-  
 [μο]νίδα τοῦ Ἰσι[δ]ντος κδ (ἔτους) κ[αὶ] τὸν Αὐρ[ή]λιον  
 [Ἀνδρόνι]κον τὸν καὶ Μ[ί]θρ[ην] ὁμοίως τοῦ κς (ἔτους),] καὶ  
 [. . . .]αλειν ἕκα[σ]τον μέρος [. . . . .]ου  
 20 [. . . . .]μενον χρόνον τ[ο]ν [. . . . .]ας  
 [. . . . .]ειν αὐτὸν τὴν εν[τ]ὸν [. . . . .]ου  
 [. . . . .]ην . . . . νην [. . . . .]τὸν  
 κ[ό]προν χωρῆσαι κατ' ἕ[ξ]τος εἰς τὸ προκειμ[έ]νον  
 αὐ[τῶν] ἀμπελ[ι]κὸν κτῆμα, ἕκαστον δὲ μέρος  
 25 π[α]ραδοῦν[αι] ἐκ[α]τέρω τὸν αὐ[τ]ὸν περιστερε-  
 ῶνα τῆ α τῶν ἐπαγομένων ἔμφορον,  
 οὐκ οὔσης ἐξου[σί]ας ὁποτέρω μέρει ἐπιβαίνειν  
 οὐ[δ]ετέρω ἐντὸς τοῦ προκειμένου αὐτοῦ  
 χρόνου. κύριον τὸ ὁμολόγημα τρισσὸν γραφὲν  
 30 πρ[ὸς] τὸ ἕκασ[τ]ον μέρος ἔχειν μ[ο]ναχόν.  
 (ἔτους) κγ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 [Σ]ευ[ή]ρ[ου] Ἀντωνίου Παρθικοῦ Μ[ε]γίστου  
 Βρετανικοῦ Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
 μη[ν]ος Ἀ[δ]ρια[νοῦ] ι.  
 2nd hand Αὐρ[ή]λι[ου]ς Ἀμμώνιος καὶ ὡς χρη-  
 36 μα[τί]ζω εὐδοκῶ [τ]ῷ κοινῷ  
 [ὁμολογή]μ[α]τι ὧ[ς] πρόκειται  
 . . . . .

On the verso remains of an endorsement.

10. 1. διηρῆσθαι.

25. Second ε of περιστερεῶνα corr.

‘Marcus Aurelius Andronicus also called Mithres, and however he is styled, and Aurelia Dionysias also called Chaeremonis through her husband Aurelius Ammonius, gymnasiarch-elect, senator of Oxyrhynchus, and Didyme also called Apollonia and Letodoris also called Dionysiotheonis, both minors, through their mother Ptolema daughter of Dionysiotheon, ex-gymnasiarch of the said city of Oxyrhynchus, herself acting through Epicrates son of Didymus, mutually acknowledge that they have divided among themselves the usufruct of the excellent productive pigeon-house owned by them in equal shares in the farmstead of their vineyard called Perkops for a further period of four years from Thoth 1 of the present 23rd year, and the minors have had allotted to them the usufruct of two years, namely, the present 23rd and the 25th year, Aurelia Dionysias also called Chaeremonis that of the coming 24th year, and Aurelius Andronicus also called Mithres similarly that of the 26th year, and each party . . . ; the dung is to go annually to their aforesaid vineyard,

and each party is to deliver to the other the said pigeon-house on the 1st of the intercalary days in productive condition, none of the parties having the right to molest another during his aforesaid period. This agreement, done in triplicate in order that each party may have a copy, is valid. The 23rd year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus, the 10th of the month Hadrianus. (Signed) I, Aurelius Ammonius, and however I am styled, consent to this joint agreement as aforesaid. . . .

7. For the guardianship of children under age by their mother cf. e. g. 898, *Mitteis, Grundz.* p. 253. The mother, who though the daughter of a gymnasiarch was apparently a *peregrina*, herself acts through a *κύριος*, l. 9.

19. Perhaps [μη ἐγκ]αλείν.

## 1279. LEASE OF STATE LAND.

23 x 8.1 cm.

A. D. 139.

A request for the lease of three arurae of unproductive land, which had formerly been cleruchic but now belonged to the Government, addressed like C. P. R. 239 and P. Brit. Mus. 1227 (iii, p. 143) to the strategus. The rent fixed is very low, only four drachmae for three arurae; cf. P. Tebt. 325, where the rent of two arurae is one drachma.

Πετρ[ωνίῳ Δ]ιονυσίῳ στρα(τηγῶ)  
 παρὰ Ὠ[φελ]ᾶτος τοῦ καὶ Κόρατος  
 ἀπελευθέρου Ἀπίας τῆς καὶ Διονυ-  
 σίας Διονυσίου ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων  
 5 πόλεως. ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασ-  
 θαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἐπ' ἔτη πέν-  
 τε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τρίτου  
 ἔτους Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου ὑπολόγου περὶ Σεναῶ  
 10 ἐκ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου  
 κλήρων ἀρούρας τρεῖς, ὧν γεί-  
 τονες νότου γύης βορρᾶ καὶ ἀ-  
 πηλιώτου δημόσιον χῶμα λιβὸς  
 Διδυμίωνος Δημητρίου, ὧσ-  
 15 τε κατ' ἔτος σπεῖραι καὶ ξυλα-  
 μῆσαι οἷς ἐὰν αἰρῶμαι χωρὶς  
 πυροῦ καὶ ἰσάτεως καὶ ἔχομε-

νίου καὶ ἔχειν με τὰς νομὰς  
 καὶ ἐπινομὰς φόρου τῶν (ν)ομῶν  
 20 κατ' ἔτος σὺν παντὶ δραχμῶν  
 τεσσάρων ἅς διαγράψω κατ' ἔ-  
 τος μηνὶ Καισαρείῳ. ἔὰν δέ τις  
 ἄβροχος γένηται, παραδεχθή-  
 σεταιί μοι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν πεν-  
 25 ταετίαν οὐκ ἀχθήσομαι εἰς  
 τὴν μίσθωσιν. (ἔτους) γ Ἀυτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ  
 Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβεῦς  
 Ἀθῦρ ια. (2nd hand) Ὡφελᾶς ὁ καὶ Κόραξ  
 30 ἐπιδέδ[ωκ]α.

1st hand διὰ Ἐρμοῦ νομογρά(φου) [

2. l. Κόρακος: cf. l. 29. Possibly *κοραγος* was written, but -τος may be due to the influence of the preceding name. 9. ὑπολογου Pap. 17. ἰσατεως Pap. 29. Tail of ξ of *κοραξ* rewritten.

‘To Petronius Dionysius, strategus, from Ophelas also called Corax, freedman of Apia also called Dionysia, daughter of Dionysius, of Oxyrhynchus. I consent to lease from the State for five years from the present third year of Antoninus Caesar the lord three arurae of unproductive land in the area of Senao in the holdings of Heraclides and Heraclides, of which the adjacent areas are on the south a field, on the north and east a public dyke, on the west the land of Didymion son of Demetrius, on condition that I may sow and plant the land with any crop which I choose except wheat, woad, and coriander (?), and shall have the pastures and secondary pastures at the annual rent for the pastures of four drachmae in all, which sum I will pay annually in the month of Caesareus. If any part becomes unwatered, an allowance shall be made to me, and at the end of the five years’ period I shall not be forced to take the lease. The 3rd year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Hathur 11. I, Ophelas also called Corax, presented this application. Written by Hermes, nomographus.’

6. ἐπ’ ἔτη πέντε: cf. P. Tebt. 374. 5, Rylands 99, a proposal to lease οὐσιακὴ γῆ for five years at a higher rate than in the preceding five years, and land. 30. 13. In other leases of State land shorter periods occur, e.g. two years in B. G. U. 831, one year in C. P. R. 239 and P. Brit. Mus. 1227. 3.

17. ἐχομενίου: so 729. 31; in 101. 12 and 593 ὄχομ. is the spelling, in B. G. U. 1017. 11 the initial letter is lost. The meaning of the word, which seems only to have been found in papyri from Oxyrhynchus, is uncertain.

31. νομογρά(φου): cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.* p. 56<sup>7</sup>, P. Hamburg 4. 15; note, Rylands 88. 26.



## 1280. PARTNERSHIP IN A LEASE.

25.1 x 16 cm.

Fourth century.

An agreement on oath between two citizens of Oxyrhynchus whereby one of them undertakes to share part of a camel-stable leased by the former, and to make an annual payment towards the rent.

The writing is across the fibres of the verso, the recto being blank.

*Αὐρήλιος Παμῆα Πέτρου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπ(ρᾶς)*  
*καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως*  
*Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀμμωνιανῶ Εὐπορίωνος ἀπὸ*  
*τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χ[α]ίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐκουσίῳ*  
 5 *καὶ αὐθαιρέτῳ γνώμῃ συντεθίσθαι με*  
*πρὸς σὲ ἐπὶ τῷ μαι ἐπικοινωνῖν σοι εἰς τὸν*  
*ψυκτῆρα τοῦ καμηλῶνος οὗ ἐμισθώσου*  
*σοὶ ὁ Ἀμμωνιανὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ παρελθόν-*  
*τος μηνὸς Παχῶν ἀρχῆ τῆς δωδεκάτης*  
 10 *ἰνδ(ικτίονος) καὶ παρασχῖν σοι ὑπὲρ ἐνοικίου*  
*ἐνιαυσίως ἀργυρίου μυριάδας*  
*χιλίας, γίνονται ἀρ(γυρίου) μυριάδες) α, ἄσπερ ἀπ[ο]δώσω*  
*ἐνιαυσίως ἀνυπερθέτως. κ[υ]ρία*  
*ἢ ὁμολογία ἀπλή γραφῖσα καὶ [ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμ(ολόγησα).*  
 2nd hand *Αὐρήλιος Παμῆα Πέτρου ὁ προκ[ε]ίμενος*  
 16 *ἐθέμην τὴν ὁμολογίαν καὶ συμ[φ]ωνῶ*  
*πάντα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ὡς πρ[ό]κειται.*  
*Αὐρήλιος Παγῶχισ Πτολλίωνος [ἐ]γραψα*  
*ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότης.*  
 20 *+ δι' ἐμοῦ Πτολ . . .*

6. 1. με. 7. ου before ἐμισθώσου corr. from το. 1. ἐμισθώσω. 8. 1. σύ. 13. 1. ἀνυπερθέτως. 17. ἐγγεγραμμένα Παρ.

‘ Aurelius Pamea son of Peter, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, to Aurelius Ammonianus son of Euporion, of the said city, greeting. I acknowledge that I have of my own free will covenanted with you to share with you in the arbour of the camelshed, which you, Ammonianus, have leased, from the past month Pachon at the beginning of the twelfth indiction, and to pay you yearly on account of rent one thousand myriads of silver drachmae, total 1000 myriads of silver, which I will deliver yearly with no delay. This agreement, of which a single copy is made, is valid, and in answer to the formal question

I have given my assent. (Signed) I, Aurelius Pamea son of Peter, the aforesaid, have made the agreement and consent to all therein written, as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Pagochis son of Ptolion, wrote for him, as he is illiterate. Drawn up by me, Ptol . . .'

9. Παχὼν ἀρχῆ: other instances of a new indiction year beginning in Pachon are 140, P. Grenf. ii. 87, Brit. Mus. 1007 c (iii, p. 264).

## 1281. LOAN.

18·6 × 13·3 cm.

A. D. 21.

This papyrus contains a copy of the signature to a contract of loan, with the last three lines of the contract itself, which was of a rather complicated nature. The debtor, a weaver, acknowledges that he had borrowed 300 drachmae, the value of 100 linen cloths of special quality, the repayment being conditional on an account, to be rendered apparently by the creditor (a Jew?), upon which another sum of 50 drachmae depended; cf. the commentary. The transaction was perhaps really a purchase with deferred payment, and the loan would then be of a fictive character; cf. e. g. 1320, P. Par. 8.

τῶ[ι Ἰωσήπῳ ἐκ τ]οῦ Ἀ[ρπαήσιος καὶ] ἐκ τῶ[ν  
ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶι π[άντων καθάπ]ερ ἐγ δίκ[ης].  
κυρία ἢ συγγραφῆι.

- ἀντίγρα(φον). Ἀρπαῆσις Πανρῦμιος λίνυφος  
5 δεδάνισμαι τὴν τειμὴν τῶν ἐκατὸν  
λίνων Σινυραιτικῶν σαμκαμκῶ[ν,  
τὰς τοῦ ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) τ κεφαλαίου, καὶ ἀποδώ[σω  
καθότι πρόκειται, ἐφ' ᾧ κομιζομένου [τοῦ  
'Ιωσήπου ταῦτα πρότερον δώσει λόγ[ον  
10 τούτων ἵνα μὴ καιθῆ τὰς ἐσταμ[ένας] ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς)  
πεντήκοντα. Ἡράκλειος Ὀρου ἔγρα[ψα  
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἰδότης γράμματα.  
ἀντίγρα(φον). ἔτους η Τιβερίου Καίσαρος  
Σεβ(αστοῦ) Τῦβι ε, διὰ Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ Προίτου  
15 γρα(μματέως) κόμης Σιναρὸν καὶ ἐτέρων κω(μῶν) κεχρη(μάτισται).

6. l. Σινυραιτικῶν; cf. l. 15. 10. l. μοι καθῆ (?).

' . . . Joseph [having the right of execution] upon Harpaësis and upon all his property, as if in consequence of a legal decision. This contract is valid.

Copy. I, Harpaësis son of Panrumis, linen-weaver, have borrowed the price of the 100 . . . cloths of Sinaru, the capital sum of 300 drachmae of silver, and will repay it as aforesaid, on condition that when Joseph receives it he shall first render an account of it in order that . . . the agreed 50 drachmae of silver. I, Heracleus son of Horus, wrote for him, as he is illiterate.

Copy. The 8th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus Tubi 5, executed by Achilles son of Proetus, scribe of the village of Sinaru and other villages.'

1. Ἰωσήφ: cf. ll. 8-9, which indicate that Ἰώσηπος was the lender.

6. σαμμακνω[ ] is an unknown word; the letters are mostly fairly clear.

9-10. If ταῦτα refers to λῖνα, Ἰώσηπος would be some one associated with the debtor Harpaësis. It seems more likely, however, that ταῦτα and τούτων mean the money, in which case Ἰώσηπος was the creditor. To whom the account was to be rendered is not apparent. The letters immediately following ἴνα are obscure; since an accusative follows, -θη should be active, not passive. Possibly μοι καθῆ is meant, a superfluous stroke being written after the α as in Ἡράκλειος in the next line, though καθῆ is hardly the verb expected. ἴν' ἀμυβᾶν (ἀμοιβῆν) θῆ is an unsatisfactory alternative.

13. The repetition of the word ἀντίγρα(φον) before the date is curious.

14-15. Cf. 320, 1208. 32, note, 1282. 46. Σωαρεύ is no doubt to be read in 56. 10. For ἐτέρων κω(μῶν) cf. 1256. 7, note.

## 1282. REPAYMENT OF A LOAN.

24.2 x 9.8 cm.

A. D. 83.

An acknowledgement by a woman of the return of a loan made by her late husband five years previously.

κ . . . ολ( ) πλ( ).

2nd hand Ἔτους τρίτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος

Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστοῦ

1st hand ιη (2nd hand) ἐν Ὁξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαΐδος.

5 ὁμολογῆ Ἦνας Πετοσοράπιος μητρὸς Ἡρᾶ-

τος τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυ-

τῆς ἀδελφιδοῦ{s} Θομπαχράτου τοῦ

Παάπιος μητρὸς Τεκώσιος τῆς Πετοσορ-

άπιος Ἀμόιτι Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Σύρου

10 μητρὸς Τεκώσιος καὶ τῆ τούτου γυναικὶ

Τεκώσει Θώνιος τοῦ Πετοσοράπιος μη-

τρὸς Ἐσενεῦτος μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς

Ἀμόιτος, πάντες τῶν ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πό-

λεως, ἐν ἀγνιᾷ, ἀπέχειν παρ' αὐτῶν ἀργυ-

- 15 ρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομίματος δραχμὰς τε-  
 τρακοσίας κεφαλαίου καὶ τοὺς καθήκον-  
 τας τούτων τόκους δανεισθείσας αὐ-  
 τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου καὶ μετηλ-  
 λαχότος τῆς Θνάτος ἀνδρὸς Παπον-  
 20 τῶτος τοῦ Ἀμόιτος τοῦ Θέωνος ὅποτε  
 [περι]ῆν κατὰ συγγραφὴν γεγонуῖαν διὰ  
 [τοῦ ἐ]ν Ὁξυρύγχων πόλει μνημονεῖου  
 τῷ ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ  
 μηνὶ Νέῳ Σεβαστῷ, ὧν ἡ πρᾶξις σὺν ἄλ-  
 25 λοις τοῦ Παποντῶτος προφέρεται ἡ Θνάς  
 κατητηκένας εἰς ἑαυτὴν καθ' ὃ ἔθετο  
 ὁ Παποντῶ[το]ς ὅποτε περιῆν διάταγμα,  
 καὶ μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν μηδ' ἐγκαλέσειν  
 μηδ' ἐπελεύσασθαι Θνάν μηδ' ἄλλον  
 30 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς οἷς ὁμολογεῖ μηδὲ τοῖς πα-  
 ρ' αὐτῶν πε[ρ]ὶ μηδενοῦ ἀπλῶς μέχρι  
 τῆς ἐνεστώσης [ἡμέρας, αὐτόθεν δὲ  
 καὶ ἀναδε[δωκένας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπίφο-  
 ρον τοῦ δανείου συγγραφὴν κεχιασμέ-  
 35 νην εἰς ἀκύρωσιν, ἢ χωρὶς τοῦ τὴν ἐσο-  
 μένην ἔφοδον ἄκυρον εἶναι ἔτι καὶ ἐκ-  
 τίνειν Θνάν ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπελευ-  
 σόμενον τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἢ τοῖς  
 παρ' αὐτῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἔφοδον τό τε  
 40 βλάβος καὶ ἐπίτειμον ἀργυρίου) (δραχμὰς) ἑκατὸν  
 καὶ εἰς τ[ὸ] δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας, καὶ μη-  
 θὲν ἡσσον κυρία ἢ συγγραφῆι. (1st hand) ἔτους  
 τρίτου Αὐ[το]κράτορος Καίσαρος  
 [Δο]μι[τιανο]ῦ Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς  
 45 Νέου Σ[εβαστ]οῦ ὀκτωκαιδε-  
 [κάτη, διὰ . . . .]νος ἀγο(ρανόμου) κεχρημ(άτισται).

. . . The third year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus, the 18th of the month Neus Sebastus, at Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid. Thnas daughter of Petosarapis, her mother being Heras daughter of Heraclides, with her guardian who is her nephew

Thompachrates son of Paapis, his mother being Tekosis daughter of Petosorapis, acknowledges to Amoïs son of Apollonius son of Syrus, his mother being Tekosis, and to his wife Tekosis daughter of Thonis son of Petosorapis, her mother being Eseneus, with her husband Amoïs as guardian, all inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus, the contract being drawn up in the street, that she has received from them the capital sum of four hundred drachmae of Imperial silver money with the requisite interest upon it, which sum was lent to them by the former husband, now deceased, of Thnas, Papontos son of Amoïs son of Theon, in his lifetime in accordance with a contract drawn up through the record-office at Oxyrhynchus in the eleventh year of the deified Vespasianus in the month Neus Sebastus, the right of execution for the debt having, as claimed by Thnas, descended with other property of Papontos to her in accordance with the disposition made by Papontos in his lifetime, and that neither Thnas nor any one on her behalf makes or will make any claim or will proceed against the recipients of this acknowledgement or their agents on any point whatever up to the present day, and that she has forthwith restored to them the contract of loan crossed out to invalidate it; otherwise not only shall any future claim be invalid, but Thnas or the person proceeding on her behalf shall in addition pay to the aforesaid persons or their agents for every claim the damages and a fine of a hundred drachmae of silver, and to the State an equal amount, and this contract shall be none the less valid. The third year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus, the eighteenth of the month Neus Sebastus, executed by . . ., agoranomus.'

1. This endorsement seems to be the same as those in 47. 1 and 276. 1. In the former passage we supposed the first word to be an abbreviation of *καταλοχισμοί*, but that would not be in place in the present context, and moreover the letter before λ can hardly be α. πλ suggests *πλήρης* or some derivative. Cf. 98. 1, where there is a rather different abbreviation at the head of a similar acknowledgement of repayment, and P. Cairo Preis. 43. 1, where the editor reads β κολλ(ήματος) δεδ[.] ( ); here, however, κολλ(λήματος) does not commend itself, and the reading in the Cairo papyrus remains questionable.

That the hand of l. 1 is the same as that which wrote the date in l. 4 and the date &c. in ll. 42 sqq. is likely but uncertain.

27. *διάταγμα*: i. e. a testamentary disposition; cf. e. g. 492. 9, 493. 6.

46. Cf. note on 1281. 14-15. Either the passive form *διὰ . . . κεχηρημ(άτισται)* or the active . . . *κεχηρημ(άτικα)* may have been written.

## (e) TAXATION.

### 1283. REVENUE-RETURN.

17.9 × 7.2 cm.

A. D. 219.

This example of the monthly statements of receipts submitted by tax-collectors to the *strategi* follows the formula found in B. G. U. 652-3, which are approximately of the same date as 1283, but come from a different locality; cf. 1046, which is the conclusion of a similar document. The taxes concerned are different imposts on land, and the *πηχισμὸς περιστερώων*, on which see the

commentary; most of them have already occurred in association in 917, 981. The date of the papyrus is discussed in the note on l. 12.

- Αὐρηλίῳ Ἄρποκρα-  
 τίῳι στρα(τηγῶ) Ὁξ(υρυγχίτου)*  
 π[αρά Α]ὐρηλίῳ Πατ( ) Εὐτ(υχ ) καὶ τ(ῶν)  
 σὺν αὐτ(ῶ) πρα(κτόρων) ἀργ(υρικῶν) μη-  
 5 τροπολ(ιτικῶν) μέσης τοπ(αρχίας)  
*Πεεννώ τόπ(ων). διαστολ(ῆ)*  
*ἀριθ(μῆσεων) μῆ(νὸς) Παῦνι τοῦ*  
*ἐνεστ(ῶτος) β (ἔτους) Μάρκου*  
*Αὐρηλίου [Α]ντωνίου*  
 10 *Κ[αίς]αρος τοῦ κυρίου,*  
*ἔστι δέ.*  
*λημ(μάτων) τ[ο]ῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) β (ἔτους)*  
*ἐπαρο(υρίου) ς' (δραχμαὶ) χ,*  
*καὶ διεγρά(φησαν) ἐπὶ τ(ῆν) δημ(οσίαν) τρά(πεζαν)*  
 15 *ὑπὸ μὲν Σεπτιμίου*  
*Χαιρή(μονος) ἐπαρο(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ρμγ (ἡμιωβέλιον) χ(αλκοῖ) β,*  
*(ὀκταδραχμοῦ) σπονδ(ῆς) Διον(ύσου) (δραχμαὶ) η (τετράβολον) χ(αλκοῦς) α,*  
*πηχισμ(οῦ) περιστ(ερῶνων) (δραχμαὶ) ιζ (πεντάβολον),*  
*Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπαρο(υρίου)*  
 20 *(δραχμαὶ) ρρη (πεντάβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον), (ὀκταδράχμου) σπονδ(ῆς)*  
*[Δ]ιον(ύσου) (δραχμαὶ) η (τετράβολον) χ(αλκοῦς) α,*  
*[Α]ὐρήλ( ) Ἀπ[. .]μ[. .] καὶ Τα-*  
*[. .] . [. . . . . ἐπαρο(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ)] ρις,*  
*[. . . . .]υ . .*  
 25 *[. . . . .]υκς.*  
*[(ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορος Κ]αίσαρος*  
*[Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου]*  
*[Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ]*

## 7. παῦν Pap.

‘To Aurelius Harpocraton, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Pat . . . son of Eutych . . . and his associates, collectors of money taxes of the metropolis for the

middle toparchy in the district of Peëнно. The classified list of payments for the month of Pauni of the present 2nd year of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord is as follows. Receipts of the present 2nd year: for acreage-tax and tax of  $\frac{1}{6}$  600 drachmae; and paid into the public bank by Septimius Chaeremon for acreage-tax 143 dr.  $\frac{1}{2}$  obol 2 chalci, for the eight-drachma libation of Dionysus 8 dr. 4 ob. 1 chal., for the cubit-measure of pigeon-houses 17 dr. 5 ob., by Aurelius Achilleus for acreage-tax 198 dr.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ob., for the eight-drachma libation of Dionysus 8 dr. 4 ob. 1 chal.; by Aurel . . . and Ta . . . for acreage-tax 116 dr. . . ? Date.

3-4. Πατ and πρα of πρακτόρων are followed by the curved stroke which commonly represents a π (so e. g. in l. 5 τοπ(αρχίας), l. 6 τόπ(ων)), but here is rather a mere symbol of abbreviation; cf. e. g. P. Tebt. 351. 1, note.

4-6. Cf. 1196. 5-9 εἰς πρακτορείαν σειτικῶν μητροπολιτικῶν . . . ἀπλητότων τοπαρχίας Πακέρκη τόπων. For διαστολή cf. e. g. 1046. 13, B. G. U. 652. 1, 653. 1, P. Tebt. 363. 1.

12. For the regnal year here there is a choice between β and κ (in l. 8 the figure is wholly uncertain), and with the latter the Emperor would be Caracalla (A. D. 212) instead of Elagabalus, who is usually styled Εὐτυχῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός. β, however, is preferable as a reading, and since the papyrus is clearly posterior to the Constitutio Antonina, which was only promulgated in A. D. 212 (month unknown), the year 219 is a more likely date; moreover 1259 shows that the strategus of A. D. 211-12 was Didymus.

13. ἐπαρο(υρίου) ζ': these are to be regarded as two taxes, the ἕκτη being well known as a distinct tax; cf. 917. 2-3, where the ζ' and ἐπαρούριον are mentioned separately, P. Tebt. 343. iv. 69 πα(ραδείσων) ὄν ζ', Hawara 303. 12-13 (*Archiv* v, p. 392) ἀμπελώνος ἐκπολογουμένου, note on P. Brit. Mus. 195. 10 reprinted *ap.* Rylands 192 (δ). The ἐπαρούριον is discussed at length in the commentary upon the latter papyrus.

17. Cf. ll. 20-1 and 917. 3, where our reading σπ(ονδῆς) Διον(ύσου) is now confirmed, and 653, where the σπονδή coupled with ἀπόμοιρα and ἐπαρούριον is no doubt the same. On the ὀκτάδραχος tax much light has been thrown by 916, which showed that it was calculated on the arura, and 1185, where its name is given without abbreviation, and the fact is revealed that the proceeds were, at any rate temporarily, assigned to the praefect by order of the Emperors; cf. P. Rylands 216. 128 note, where the evidence is considered in more detail.

What is the relation of this impost to the σπονδή Διονύσου? Both here and in ll. 20-1 a single sum is recorded under the two names, and it is the same in both cases, 8 dr. 4 ob. 1 ch. On the analogy of l. 13 the supposition would be easy that the connecting particle had been omitted and that the ὀκτάδραχος and σπονδή were distinct. This explanation, however, seems to be precluded by 917. 3, where an identical sum is entered under the heading of σπονδή Διονύσου alone. This can hardly be regarded as a mere coincidence and suggests most strongly that the two names designated a single tax. The appropriation of the ὀκτάδραχος to the praefect is not a serious difficulty, since the diversion of revenues from religious to secular purposes would not necessarily involve a change of nomenclature; cf. e. g. P. Rylands 213. 354, where a ἐξάδραχος Φιλαδέλφου is classed under διοίκησις, not ἱερατικά. That passage also provides an analogy for the devotion of a tax to a particular cult, a practice of which the διδραχμία Σούχου is another example. But inferences concerning the original destination of the impost are not necessarily to be drawn from its name. Further light on this subject may be expected from the Theadelphia papyrus described by Schubart in *Amil. Ber. aus d. K. Kunstsammlungen*, Nov. 1913, Col. 57, which brings evidence for the σπονδή Διονύσου in the Arsinoite nome.

18. πηχισμ(οῦ) περιστ(ερώνων): cf. 981, where this tax occurs, as here, in conjunction with ἐπαρούριον, 917. introd., Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 1091.

25. On the analogy of 1046. 13, B. G. U. 652. 16-17, 653. 15 this line should give the

total of the items, if, as can hardly be doubted, the date followed in ll. 26 sqq. (cf. B. G. U. 652. 18, 653. 16). The amounts as far as l. 23 add up to 1093 dr. 1½ ob., which subtracted from [? 1]426 dr. leave 332 dr. 4½ ob. as the amount expected at the end of l. 24. Instead of this, however, there is a clear *v* followed by something illegible. The restoration of l. 25 consequently remains in doubt.

## 1284. RECEIPT FOR TAX ON SALES.

21 x 10.3 cm.

A. D. 250.

A receipt issued by a public bank for payment of the *ἐγκύκλιον* or tax on sales, mortgages, &c., due in consequence of the acquisition of part of a house. The rate of the *ἐγκύκλιον* on sales in the Roman period is known to have been 10 per cent. (cf. 99 and P. Tebt. 350. introd., where evidence is collected), and it is therefore surprising to find that here as much as 73 dr. 5½ ob. was paid on a value of 3[.]5 dr. 5½ ob. These 73 dr. 5½ ob. certainly included an unspecified amount for *σπονδή*, an extra charge sometimes found in association with taxes; cf. e.g. P. Tebt. 347. 1-2, where 2 dr. are paid as *σπονδή* on 18 dr., and note *ad loc.*, 1283. 17, note, P. S. I. 109. 7. But the amount of this *σπονδή* would not be expected to be more than a relatively small item, and unless in the present case it be supposed to have been almost as much as the main payment, the conclusion is natural that in the course of the third century the rate of the *ἐγκύκλιον* rose considerably. In P. Brit. Mus. 933 (iii, p. 69) of A. D. 211 the old rate is apparently still to be recognized; cf. note on l. 16 below. It is, however, uncertain that the transaction referred to in 1284 was technically a sale, and if some other form of transfer was in question, that might account for the higher rate of the tax; see l. 12, note.

The papyrus is dated, like C. P. R. 37, in the joint reign of Decius, Herennius, and Hostilianus.

[Ἐτους δευτέρου Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Μεσσίου  
 [Κυίντου Τ]ραιανοῦ Δεκ[ίου] Εὐσεβοῦς Ε[ὐ]τυχοῦς καὶ Κυίντου  
 [Ἐρηνίου Ἐ]τρούσκου Με[σ]σίου Δεκίου καὶ Γαίου Οὐάλεντος  
 [Ὀστιλιανῶ] Μεσσίου Κυί[ν]του τῶν σεβασμωτάτων  
 5 [Καيسάρων] Σεβαστῶν Χοίακ ιθ. διέγρα(ψεν) Ἀύρη(λ(ίφ)) Ἀπολλωνίῳ  
 [καὶ τῶ] σὺν ἀ(ὐτῶ) ἀμφο(έροις) βουλ(ευταῖς) τῆς Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(εως)  
 δημ[ο]σίων τραπ(εζιτῶν)  
 [εἰς λόγον τοῦ] ἐγκυκλίου Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Διογένης  
 [υἱὸς Τιβερίου] Κλαυδίου Διογένους κοσμητεύσαντος



- [καὶ ἀγωνο]θετήσαντος βουλ(ευτοῦ) τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλ(εως) ὑπὲρ  
 10 [τοῦ ὑπάρχ(οντος)] ἐν τῇ α(ὕτῃ) πόλ(ει) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Βορρά Κρηπίδ(ος)  
 ἡμίσου(ς) μέρους  
 [οἰκίας παλ]αιᾶς καὶ τῶν ταύτης χρηστηρίων πάντ(ων)  
 [δ . . . . .]θη ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τροφίμ(ου) μη(τρὸς) Αὐρηλ(ίας) Ἀμμωνίας  
 [. . . . .] μη(τρὸς) Τεχωσοῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὕτῃς) Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(εως)  
 καθ' ἰδιό-  
 [γρα(φον) συγ]γρα(φὴν) γεγонуῖαν τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ Χοίακ κατὰ  
 15 [χάριν ἀν]αφέρετον ἥς πεποίηκεν συντιμήσεως  
 [τοῦ α(ὕτοῦ) ἡμί]σους μέρους τῆς οἰκίας (δραχμῶν) τ[.]ε (ὀβολῶν πέντε)  
 (ἡμιωβελίου) σπονδ(ῆς) καὶ  
 [ἐνκυκλίου] διαγρ(αφῆ) δραχ(μαὶ) ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς ὀβολοὶ πέν-  
 [τε ἡμ]ιοβέλιον, γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ογ Ϝ ϙ.  
 2nd hand [Αὐ]ρήλ(ιος) Ἀπολλώνιος γυμνασιάρχ(ήσας) βουλ(ευτῆς) δη(μόσιος)  
 τρα(πεζίτης) σεση(μείωμαι)  
 20 [τ]ὰς δραχ(μάς) ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς (ὀβολοὺς πέντε) (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
 γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ογ Ϝ ϙ.

1. γαῖου Pap.; so in l. 3.

2. τ[ρ]αῖανου . . . κύντου Pap.

6. 1. δη[ο]σίους

τραπ(εζίταις).

9. ὕπερ Pap.

12. a of εαυτου has a horizontal stroke above it,

i. e. an abbreviation was originally intended.

15. 1. ἀν]αφαίρετων.

17. 1. διαγρ(αφὴν)

δραχ(μάς) κτλ.

18. 1. ἡμ]ιοβέλιον.

'The 2nd year of the Emperor and Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Pius Felix and Quintus Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius and Gaius Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus the most august Caesars, Augusti, Choiak 19. Paid to Aurelius Apollonius and his associate, both senators of the city of Oxyrhynchus, public bankers, to the account of the tax on sales by Tiberius Claudius Diogenes son of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, ex-cosmetes, ex-president of the games, senator of the city of Oxyrhynchus, on account of the half share of an old house and all its appurtenances belonging to him in the said city of Oxyrhynchus in the North Quay quarter, which was [purchased?] from his foster-child's mother Aurelia Ammonia daughter of . . . and Techosous, of the said city of Oxyrhynchus, in accordance with a privately drawn contract made in the said month Choiak by an irrevocable transfer, on the valuation which he has made of the said half share of the house, namely 3[.]5 drachmae 5½ obols, in payment for libation-money and the tax on sales seventy-three drachmae five and a half obols, total 73 dr. 5½ ob. (Signed) I, Aurelius Apollonius, ex-gymnasiarch, senator, public banker, have certified the seventy-three drachmae five and half obols, total 73 dr. 5½ ob.'

5. Σεβαστῶν should be restored after Καισάρων in C. P. R. 37. 18.

7. For the supplement cf. e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 933. 9 (iii, p. 69) εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἐνκυκλ(ίου) λόγον.

9. [ἀγωνο]θετήσαντος: this seems to be the first occurrence of ἀγωνοθέτης as a municipal

title in the provincial towns. At Alexandria the office of ἀγωνοθέτης is found in association with that of gymnasiarch; cf. Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 713 (= *Archiv* ii, p. 567).

12. The verb to be supplied here remains in doubt. ἡγοράσθη naturally suggests itself, and this, as 1208. 17 shows, would be consistent with the phrase κατὰ [χάρις ἀν]αφαίρετον in ll. 14-15. But the συντίμησις mentioned in l. 15 then seems strange, since the basis of the tax on a sale would normally be the purchase-money. Possibly, therefore, the property was ceded by deed of gift like those in P. Grenf. ii. 68, 71, where the phrase χάρις ἀναφαίρετος recurs. The verb might then be e. g. ἐχαρίσθη (cf. P. Grenf. ii. 68. 3, &c., and 1208. 16 ἀποχαρισθέν), though ὑπό rather than ἀπό would be expected to follow; παρεχωρήθη is too long. For the ἐγκύκλιον on a gift cf. P. Tebt. 351, where 4 dr. only are paid on account of a house of unspecified value.

16. Though not described as σπονδής, an extra charge with a payment for ἐγκύκλιον occurs in 99. 19 (Naber's attempt to explain this away in *Archiv* i, p. 314 is futile), and probably in P. Brit. Mus. 933, where 40 dr. 1 ob. are paid on 300 dr.; cf. P. Tebt. 347. 2, where in a banking account 2 dr. are entered on account of σπονδή on another sum. For σπονδή as an additional payment in leases or elsewhere cf. e. g. 101. 19, 730. 13, P. Brit. Mus. 948. 12 (iii, p. 220), and as a tax, 1283. 17, note.

#### 1285. LIST OF VILLAGE PAYMENTS.

33.3 × 31.5 cm.

Third century.

The value of this papyrus is centred in its geographical information. It contains a long list of villages, classified under the six toparchies of the nome, with amounts in money levied upon them. The account is in two sections, the first ending with Col. ii, which is very short and is separated from the next column by a broad blank space. The names in Col. i, so far as they are preserved, and in Col. ii coincide, with one or two exceptions, which may be partly due to accident, with those at the end of the second section, ll. 92 sqq.; and the corresponding sums in the two sections though often varying slightly are approximate throughout. There can thus be little doubt that practically the same list of names was written out twice; and the similarity in ratio of the amounts prompts the inference that the account refers to two periods of the same impost. Unfortunately the nature of this impost and the basis of the assessment remain obscure; if the word τιμῆς is rightly identified at the top of Col. iii, an *adacratio* of some kind is indicated. With this uncertainty the amounts, which as between the villages vary considerably, are not a trustworthy index to the relative size or wealth of the individual localities. Neither would it be very safe to assume because only six names are mentioned in the toparchy of Thmoisepho, while in the others the number ranges from twelve to twenty-three, that that toparchy was much the smallest and least important. For the list is far from exhaustive, and many names of Oxyrhynchite villages known from other sources do not figure in it. On the other hand, the following are here mentioned for the

first time: 'Αθ[.]χεως, 'Αντείεως (?), Δωσιθέου, [Σ]ενύρεως, 'Ισίου Κάτω, Κο[.]ου (?), Μελανθίου (but see note on l. 102), Μαστ . . . τιφόρου, Νίγρου, Νόμου ἐποίκιον, Ποσομπέως, Σεναπώθεως, Τύχην Φαγ( ), Ταλωπιτεί (?). It is noticeable that Ψώβθις and Θώλθις occur in three toparchies (Ψ. ll. 94, 115, 133, Θ. ll. 104, 123, 141).

On the verso, opposite Col. i of the recto, are the ends of lines of a well-written document, probably a draft or copy of an official letter or petition.

## Col. i.

	[Δίλη ] (δραχμαί) πη,
	[Σαραπίωνος Χαιρήμονος] (δρ.) ρος,
	[Ψώβθεως ] (δρ.) τνδ,
	[Σατύρου ] (δρ.) ξη,
5	[Θ . . . . ] (δρ.) σοβ,
	[ γίνονται (δρ.) ] 'Αφξδ.
	[μέσης τοπ(αρχίας)· 'Ιέμ]η (δρ.) ρκ,
	[Τανάεως ] (δρ.) υλη,
	[τὸ 'Ηρακλεῖον (δρ.) ρξε (ὀβολός),
10	[Νόμου ἐποίκιον] (δρ.) χκβ,
	[ ] (δρ.) . . (τετρώ- βολον),
	[Που . εω ] (δρ.) μη,
	[Κόμα ] (δρ.) ξη,
	[Πέτνη ] (δρ.) τ,
15	[ 'Ιστρου ] (δρ.) τπ,
	[Σεντῶ ] (δρ.) ρις (τετρώ- βολον),
	[Ἀρταπάτο]ν (δρ.) νη (δυόβολοι),
	[Πλελῶ ] (δρ.) μη,
	[Νεμέρων] (δρ.) σμ,
20	[Τακοκί]λεως (δρ.) ρνς,
	[Μαστ . . τιφύ]ρου (δρ.) οη,
	[Ψώβθεω]ς (δρ.) ηη,
	[Κερκευῶσ]εως (δρ.) ρμε (πεντώ- βολον),
	[Ταλωπιτε]ί (δρ.) φπ,

## Col. iii.

50	τιμῆ[ς .] . [ . . . . . . . . . .
	ἄνω [τ]οπ(αρχίας)· Πετ . [.] . (δρ.) [ . . . ]
	Θώσβεως (δρ.) ο . ,
	Νίγρου (δρ.) π[.] ,
	Μερμέρθων (δρ.) Ἀξη,
55	'Επισήμου (δρ.) ωμς,
	'Ισίου Παγγᾶ (δρ.) τῶα,
	Νεσμίμεως (δρ.) Ἀκδ,
	'Αθ[.]χεως (δρ.) ψιβ,
	Σαδάλου (δρ.) σλς,
60	Ξενάρχου (δρ.) οβ,
	Νέσλα (δρ.) ξδ,
	Μονίμου (δρ.) ωοβ,
	[Σ]ενύρεως (δρ.) ρις,
	Ἀρχιβίου (δρ.) οβ,
65	Σιγκέφα (δρ.) φξη,
	Κερκεμούνεως (δρ.) τξ,
	Χύσεως (δρ.) ωκη,
	'Αντείεως (δρ.) τ,
	γίνονται (τάλαντον) α (δρ.) 'Βψπδ.
70	λιβὸς τοπ(αρχίας)· Κερκεθύρ(εως) (δρ.) υμα,
	Σερύφεως (δρ.) Ἀτμ,
	'Ηρακλείδου ἐπ(οικίου) (δρ.) ρη,
	Σενοκόμεως (δρ.) Ἀσγς,
	Πανευεῖ (δρ.) φις,
75	Σύρων (δρ.) . ξ,

25	[Τεξεῖ ] (δρ.) λς,	Παείμεως (δρ.) ρ . . ,
	[Πετενούριος) (δρ.) κ]θ (όβολός),	Ληνώωνος (δρ.) οβ,
	[Σενέπτα (δρ.) ]	Σεναὸν (δρ.) ρ,
	[γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) ]	Μουχινάξ(ας) (δρ.) με,
	[Θμοι(σεφά)· Παώμεως (δρ.)] φλβ,	80 Σενεκελεύ (δρ.) σλς,
30	[Θώλθεως (δρ.) . .] (πεντώ- βολου),	Πέλα (δρ.) Άιη,
	[Κεσμούχεως (δρ.) . . .] (όβολός),	Λευκίου (δρ.) τκδ,
	[Σεφά (δρ.) . .] (πεντώ- βολου),	Πετεμούνιος (δρ.) ρη,
	[Τήεως (δρ.) . .] . ,	γ(ίνονται) (τάλαντον) α (δρ.) τρις.
	[Παλώσεως (δρ.) .]ς,	85 άπηλ(ιώτου) τοπ(αρχίας)· Ποσομπόεως (δρ.) οβ,
35	[γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) ] .	Άδαίου (δρ.) σ,
	[κάτω τοπ(αρχίας)· Τύχιν Φαγ( )] (δρ.) τ,	Τερύθεω[s] (δρ.) σκγ,
	[Τακόνα (δρ.)] χλβ,	Τααμ[π]έμου [(δρ.)] χλ[.],
	[Ταλαὸν (δρ.) . .]β,	90 Πακέρκ[η] (δρ.) τμβ,
	[Ίσίου Κάτ]ω [(δρ.)] κ,	Φοβωὸν [(δρ.)] τ,
40	[. . . . .]αυρ . [ (δρ.)] τ,	Ώφεως (δρ.) φ,
	[Σιναρὺν ] (δρ.) τμ,	Αίλη (δρ.) . γ,
	[Κο . ου ] (δρ.) ρα,	Σαραπί(ωνος) Χαιρ(ήμονος) [(δρ.)] ρξη,
	[Σέσφθα] (δρ.) ψας,	Ψώβθε[ως] (δρ.) τ . ς,
	[Μουχιν]αρ(υά) (δρ.) ρπη,	95 Σατύρου (δρ.) ξδ,
45	[Ίσίου Τρύ]φ(ωνος) (δρ.) σιγ,	
	[Δωσιθέο]υ [(δρ.)] ψ[	

## Col. ii.

Σούεως	(δρ.) ρξ,
Θώλθεως	(δρ.) σλς,
γ(ίνονται) [(δρ.)] Άυθ.	

## Col. iv.

Θ[.] . . . . [ (δρ.)	120	Σενέπτα (δρ.) ρ,
/ (δρ.) Άρξδ.		γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) ΆΓ . [.] .
μέσης τοπ(αρχίας)· Ίέμη (δρ.) ρ[		Θμοι(σεφά)· Παώμ[ε]ως (δρ.) υας,
Τανάεως (δρ.) [		Θώλθεως (δρ.) οβ,

100	τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον	(δρ.) ρ . . .		Κεσμούχεως	(δρ.) ριζ,
	Νόμου ἐποίκ(ιον)	(δρ.) φ[	125	Σεφῶ	(δρ.) οβ,
	Μελανθίου	(δρ.) [		Τήεως	[(δρ.)] Ἄτη,
	Σεναπώθεως	(δρ.) [		Παλώσεως	(δρ.) ση,
	Θάλθεως	(δρ.) [		γ(ίνονται) (δρ.)	Ἰ Βσογ.
105	Που[.]ξω	(δρ.) μ[		κάτω τ[ο]π(αρχίας)	Τύχιν Φαγ( )
	Κ[ό]μα	(δρ.) ξδ,			(δρ.) τ,
	Πέτνη	(δρ.) σγξ,	130	Τακόνα	(δρ.) φπδ,
	Ἰστρου	(δρ.) τυβ,		Ταλαῶ	(δρ.) τοθ,
	Σεντῶ	(δρ.) ρη,		Ἰσίου Κάτω	(δρ.) ιη,
110	Ἄρταπάτου	(δρ.) νδ,		Ψώβθεως	(δρ.) σπη,
	Πλελῶ	(δρ.) μη,		Σιναρὺ	(δρ.) τκδ,
	Νεμέρων	(δρ.) σμβ,	135	Κο[.]ου	(δρ.) ρ,
	Τακ[ο]λκίλεως	(δρ.) ρμδ,		Σέσφθα	(δρ.) ψμ,
	Μαστ . . τιφ(όρου)	(δρ.) οβ,		Μουχιναρ(νὰ)	(δρ.) ρπ,
115	Ψώβθ[ε]ως	[(δρ.)] ρξ,		Ἰσίου Τρύφ(ωνος)	(δρ.) ρρη,
	Κερκεύρων	(δρ.) ρλς,		Δωσιθέου	(δρ.) χος,
	Ταλωπιτεῖ	(δρ.) φμ,	140	Σούεως	(δρ.) ρνγ,
	Τεξεῖ	(δρ.) λς,		Θάλθε[ω]ς	(δρ.) σκε,
	Πετενούρος	(δρ.) κη,		γ(ίνονται) (δρ.)	Ἰ Δρξε.

56. παγ'γα Pap. 76. ει of παειμεως corr. from ω. 137. ρ of μουχιναρ corr. from ξ(?).

10-11. In Col. iv there are two names more under μέση τοπαρχία than in this column. The similarity of the figures in ll. 10 and 101, 12 and 105 makes it likely that two of the three names in ll. 102-4 were omitted in Col. i, but which they were there is nothing to show.

17. [Ἄρταπάτο]ν: cf. l. 110 and Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 1945. 4.

23. Κερκεύρων, the name written in l. 116, can certainly not be read here, the termination being apparently ]εως, which suggests that Κερκευρώσεως (cf. 625, also in the middle toparchy) was substituted. Which was the right name here remains uncertain.

40. In l. 133 Ψώβθεως follows Ἰσίου Κάτω.

47. Σοῦις has occurred in 1275. 7.

60. Cf. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 1978 ἐπ(ο)κ(ίου) Ξενάρχων.

63. [Σ]ενύρεως: the initial letter is given by 1342.

65. Cf. 515. 2, 6, 517. 6, where Σιγκ(έφα) is to be restored.

70. The name of the village is very doubtfully identified.

76. Cf. P. S. I. 109. 5, where Παεῖμ(ων) may now be restored.

77. It is likely that Δηνώωνος is identical with Λυνώνος in P. S. I. 80, if indeed Δηνώωνος is not to be read there.

82. Λευκίον: is this the same as the later Λουκίου (922. 25, 998)? Λευκ(ίου) should be read in Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 1945. 12.

83. In 1052 the form Πετεμόυνεως is used.  
 102. Μελανθίου : χωρ(ιον) Μελάνθου in Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 1989. *g* may be identical.  
 105. Perhaps Πού[χ]εω(ς) (966), but the absence of the final *s* is curious.  
 111. Cf. Σεστωπλελώ (? Σεντὼ Πλελώ) in 102. 8.  
 113. Cf. 997, and 734. 3, where Πέτην Τακολ(κίλεως) should be restored, *καί* being understood between the two names; in l. 5 an adjective Τακολ(κιλίτης) may be meant.  
 114. Cf. l. 21, whence the termination of the village-name is obtained.  
 129. Cf. 280. 8, 290. 6 Τύχιν Νεκώτιν.  
 133. In l. 40 a different name was written, but Ψῶβθις in the lower toparchy is known from e. g. 239. 4.  
 135. The doubtful *v* may be a mark of abbreviation.  
 137. Μουχιναρνώ (or -οώ) is written out in P. Hibeh 53. 19, 21, 22, 92. 8 and 132. Μουχινάρ (491. 3, 985; cf. 1127. 7 Μουχινύρ) is perhaps distinct.

## (f) ACCOUNTS AND LISTS.

## 1286. ACCOUNT OF RECEIPT AND EXPENDITURE.

17.5 × 12.6 cm.

A. D. 253.

Conclusion of an account relating to corn and pitch. As in P. S. I. 83,<sup>1</sup> which also comes from Oxyrhynchus and offers other similarities to this papyrus, the account has a formal signature at the end, and the person presenting it seems to have occupied an official or semi-official position; perhaps he was a *προνοητής ούσιαις* (cf. e. g. P. Flor. 77). The text is much abbreviated and in consequence sometimes obscure. It is noticeable that the artaba in use was one of 40 choenices; see l. 4 and cf. 1044. introd., 1145. 18. The document bears an interesting date in the reign of Aemilianus, which only lasted about three months.

On the verso is a mutilated account of wine headed *λόγος οἴνου ἀνερχθέντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀμ[πελώνος ?] τῷ δ (ἔτει) μη(νί) Φαρμουῦθι ἀπὸ κτήματος [λεγομένου ?] Νεοφύτου* (cf. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 1945. 15, 1973. 20) *κερα(μίων) ρα*. The payments include 1 jar *ναυτικοῖς*, an amount which is lost *Ἰέρακι γνωμο . . .* and another *παρέδροις*.

[ . . . ] γ(ίνονται) ? [ ]  
 Ταπόλου (ἀρτάβαι) βΛ,  
 γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ξδδ' χ(οίνικες) ς, διαφόρου) αὐτ(ῶν) [μ]ετ(ερχθεισῶν) ?  
 (ἀρτάβης) [ε']

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the text of that papyrus, *κερατ( )* in l. 3 must be *κεράμ(ια)*. In l. 4 ἀ]ναλ( ) presumably = ἀ]ναλ(ώθη) (cf. 1286. 4), while in l. 8 ἀναλ(ωθίντα) or ἀναλ(ώματος) is meant. In l. 5 [γεο]ύχφ is probable.

- (ἀρτάβαι) εςδ' χ(οίνικες) η, / (ἀρτάβαι) ολδ' χ(οίνικες) δ, ἐξ ὧν ἀνη(λώθησαν).  
 5 πρᾶσις ὧν ἡ τιμὴ ἐπάν(ω) ἐλήμ(φθη) προσμετ( ) ια  
 (ἀρτάβαι) ιε, αἰ (ἐκατοσταὶ ?) μετ(ενεχθεισῶν) ι, (ἀρτάβαι) ιςλ,  
 καταλείπονται εἰς τ( ) ἐξη( ) (ἀρτάβαι) νδδ' χ(οίνικες) δ.  
 πίσσης ὁμοί(ως) λοιπογρα(φουμένης) (προτέρω ?) λό(γω) μν(αῖ) λε,  
 αἰ καὶ ἀπόκ(ινται).  
 10 (ἔτους) β Ἀύ[το]κράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Μάρκου [Α]ίμιλιου Αἰμιλιανῶ  
 Εὐσεβ[ο]ῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
 Φ[αῶφι]. (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Κάστωρ ἐπιδέ-  
 [δωκα.]

2. β' Pap.; so in l. 6 εἰς. 5. ελημ' Pap. 6. ρ' μετ Pap. 8. α' λο- Pap.

3. διαφό(ρου) . . . (ἀρτάβης) [ι']: a charge for διάφορον or διάφορον φορέτρον, as it is sometimes more exactly termed, is not seldom met with in accounts of corn (cf. e. g. P. Amh. 69. 10-11, Fay. 86, B. G. U. 835, perhaps also 988. 12), and since this was a payment for transport μετ(ενεχθεισῶν) or μετ(αφορᾶς) seems a suitable expansion of μετ( ), which recurs in l. 6. The restoration [ι'] suits the following figures,  $6\frac{9}{20}$  art. (cf. the next note) being in fact  $\frac{1}{10}$  more than the tenth part of  $64\frac{2}{5}$  art. Moreover [ι'] is in exact accordance with l. 6, where, if the reading adopted is correct, 10 ἐκατοσταὶ on 15 art., i. e.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  art., are charged for transport. That the same percentage should be expressed in l. 3 by (ἀρτάβης) ι' and in l. 6 by (ἐκατοσταὶ) ι is, however, rather strange. For ἐκατοσταὶ on corn-dues cf. e. g. B. G. U. 552 A. i. 9, P. Tebt. 363. 12, Leipzig 84. ii. 7, and 1259. 16, note.

4. Since  $70\frac{3}{4}$  art. 4 choen. are given as the sum of the two preceding items,  $64\frac{1}{4}$  art. 6 choen. and  $6\frac{1}{4}$  art. 8 choen., it follows that the artaba contained 40 choen.

5. In P. S. I. 83. 1, 4, 10 the editor gives ὧν ἡ τιμὴ ἐπάνω ἐλοιπ., and ἐλήμ(φθη) here is perhaps an error for ἐλοιπ(ογραφήθη); cf. l. 8. προσμετ( ) ια is puzzling; the obvious προσμετρούμενα seems hardly suitable. πρ(οσ)μετ( ) might be read in l. 6 instead of (ἐκατοσταὶ) μετ( ), if it gave sense.

7. If εἰς τ(ἦν) ἐξη(γῆταιαν) were read here, the passage would be all-important in the interpretation of the document; but the abbreviation may be expanded in other ways, e. g. τ(ἦν) ἐξη(μερον) or τ(ὸν) ἐξη(ς), sc. λόγον.

8. λε is apparently a number, though ε has a horizontal stroke above it like the preceding μν.

13. Since the reign of Aemilianus terminated about September, Φαῶφι is the most suitable month, and is also better adapted to the space than Φαμενώθ or Φαρμουῖθι.

## 1287. SURVEY-LIST.

24.5 × 7.7 cm.

Early third century.

This extract from an official survey-list preserved in the public archives (cf. B. G. U. 861, 870) has been hastily copied on the back of 1267. Two entries have been extracted, both concerned with Diogenes who is described as a ἡνίοχος

or charioteer. Owing partly to their highly abbreviated character, partly to illegibility in the writing, there is some obscurity in the details. The 14th year in which the survey was made (l. 2) was probably that of Septimius Severus, in whose reign 1267 is dated.

- "Εγλ(ημψις) ἐκ δημ(οσίας) βιβλ(ιοθήκης) ἐκ  
 πεδιακ(ῆς) ἐπι(σ)κ(έψεως) ιδ (ἔτους)  
 κόλ(λημα) ν, Σενέπ(τα).  
 καμψάντων ἐπὶ
- 5 βορ(ρᾶν) Διογένους Ἡρᾶτος  
 ἠνιόχου . ε . . . .  
 Ποπλίου [π]ροαπεσχ(ηκότος ?)  
 (πρότερον) Πτολ(εμαίου) Παποντῶ(τος)  
 οἰκ(ία) καὶ αὐλ(ῆ)
- 10 ἐξ ὑπ(ομνήματος) τοῦ προγεγρα(μμένου)  
 Διογένους ἀπ' Ὀ-  
 ξ(υρύχων) πόλ(εως) δηλ(ώσαντος) ὑπ(άρχειν) αὐτῶ  
 τὴν προκ(ειμένην) οἰκ(ίαν)  
 καὶ αὐλ(ῆν).
- 15 καμψάντων ἐπ' ἀ-  
 πηλ(ιώτην) Ταζωιλᾶτος  
 Ἀφύγγ(ιος) κειμ(ένη) οἰκ(ία)  
 ἐξ ὑπ(ομνήματος) Διογ(ένους) ἠνιόχ(ου)  
 ἀπ' Ὀξ(υρύχων) πόλ(εως) δηλ(ώσαντος) ὑπ(άρχειν) αὐτῶ
- 20 (πρότερον) τοῦ υἱοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) Σαραπ(ίωνος)  
 καὶ αὐτ(οῦ) (πρότερον) Τευθει(τος)  
 δ' μέρος καὶ (πρότερον) Νεχθε-  
 νίβιθ(ς) Ὀρρο[υ] ἔτ]ερον δ'  
 μ[έ]ρος α[.] . . [.] . . ( ).

'Extract from the public archives from a field-survey of the 14th year, column 50, Senepa: Turning to the north, the house and court of Diogenes son of Heras, charioteer, by prepayment to . . . Publius (?), formerly the property of Ptolemaeus son of Papontos, in accordance with a memorandum of the aforesaid Diogenes of the city of Oxyrhynchus, who declared that the aforesaid house and court belonged to him. Turning to the east, the ruined house of Tazoilas daughter of Aphunchis in accordance with a memorandum of Diogenes, charioteer, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, who declared that there belonged to him a quarter share which was formerly the property of his son Sarapion and before him of Teutheis,



and another quarter share which was formerly the property of Nechthenibis son of Horus . . .

1-3. Cf. e. g. B. G. U. 870. 1-4 ἐκ βιβλιοθήκης δημ(οσίων) λόγων, ἐξ ἐπισκέψεως ἡμερησίας οἰκο(πέδων?) . . . (probably the year) κώμης Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου, and for ἔγλ(ημψις) P. Flor. 46. 1 ἔκλημψις ἐκ τῆς . . . χωρικ(ῆς) βιβλ(ιοθήκης).

17. κειμ(έμη): cf. e. g. P. Leipzig 40. iii. 7 κείται αἱ θύραι.

20. α(ὑτοῦ): or α(ὑτῆς)?

## 1288. PRIVATE ACCOUNT.

25.9 × 16.6 cm.

Fourth century.

An account rendered by an agent to his mistress, who was absent in Alexandria (cf. ll. 17, 29, 34), of expenditure for the household and estate. The hand varies a good deal, and the account was probably put together at different times. This papyrus was found rolled up with another short account in six lines, written in a different hand (1344). The text is Ἀπολλωνία θυγ(άτηρ) Φίλιππος σίτου (ἀρτάβαι) ηΛ, κριθῆς (ἀρτ.) ιγ, οἶν[ο]ν ξ(έσται) ρνη, [. ]βλ( ) ξ(έσται) ρς, ἔξαργ(υρισμοῦ) (τάλαντα) γ (δηνάρια) Ἰτ; for δηνάρια here in place of δραχμαί cf. e. g. P. Thead. 29, 26, &c., 34, 45.

Δόγος ἀργυρίων	καὶ ὅτε ὑπήγες ἐς Ἀλεξ(άνδρειαν) ἀφήκας μοι σιππίου ἀνήστο(υ) λί(τρας) γΛ,
ὦν ἔσχον·	35 ἐπράθη οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α τῆς ἀνώνα(ς) (ταλάντων) β (δραχμῶν) Β,
εἰς διαγραφὴν συνωνημένων	ἠγοράσθη σιππίου λί(τρα) αΛ.
	(τάλαντα) ιε καὶ ἀρ(τάβας?) ς,
ἄλλα ὁμύως εἰς διαγραφῆ[ν] εἰς τὰ ἀρτοκοπιᾶ	(τάλ.) η καὶ ἀρ(τάβας) γ,
5 εἰς διαγραφὴν τῶν [[κτηνῶν]] ὄνων	(τάλ.) ς καὶ ἀρ(τάβας) ι,
εἰς διαγραφὴν πλύου θαλασσίας τιτέσματος	(τάλ.) θ,
εἰς διαγραφὴν τοῦ σιππέου	(τάλ.) β,
ἀνηλώθη εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν Παλλαδιᾶτι	(τάλ.) α,
μισθοῦ δύο δεσμιδίων σο[ῦ] παρόντος	(τάλ.) β.
10 ἐγὼ δέδωκα	εἰς {ς} τῆ(ν) ἀν(ν)ώνα(ν)·
ἔσχεν ἡ τροφὸς Παλλαδιᾶτος εἰς ἀνάλωμα{τος} ἀργυρί(ου)	(τάλ.) α,
ἦνυξα τὸν τόπον τῶν οἰναρίων καὶ προενήνεχα οἴνου κεράμια να,	
Μόρφ ὑπ(ἐρ) δαπάνης ποταμ[ιτ]ῶν	(τάλ.) δ,
ὑπ(ἐρ) στυπητηρίας	(τάλ.) κ (δραχμὰς) Βς,
15 ὑπ(ἐρ) μισθοῦ δεσμιδί[ου] Ἀ[ν]χίσα	(τάλ.) α,
τι(μῆς) σολίου Νόννας	(δραχμὰς) Ἀς,

καὶ σὺ τῇ γεούχου ἀπέ[στ]εῖλα εἰς Ἀλεξ(άνδρειαν) (τάλ.) η,  
καὶ ὑπ(έρ) ἐνεχύρων [[δ[ι] Ἀ]πίας Ταπιλοῦτος Κεφ(αλ )]] (τάλ.) ρπ,  
καὶ τόκου διμήνου[ν] . . [.]θε . [ύ]π(έρ) ἐξαργυρισμοῦ (τάλ.) ι.  
Φαμενῶθ β Μόρφ οἰκέτη [ύ]π(έρ) ἀναλώματος δι' Ἀπίας (τάλ.) σν,

21

Ταπιλοῦτος

τι(μῆς) ἀσήμου ὑπ(έρ) ὀνόματος Ἀπίας (τάλ.) ξ,  
ἐξαμήνου ἀρτοκ[ό]πων (τάλ.) μθ,  
χλαμύδος καὶ στιχάρ[ι]ον (τάλ.) ιξ.  
Φαμενῶθ β ἔσχεν Μῶρον (τάλ.) ξδ.

26 ἀνάκκης γεναμέ[ν]ης ἔπεμψα Μῶλον

εἰς κόμην καὶ ἔλ[α]βεν ἀπὸ τῶν σιτολό-  
γων ἀργυρίου (τάλ. ?) μς.

ἀφ' ἧς ἀπεδήμησας ἠγόρασα σιππέου λί(τρας) ε

30 τῆς καθ' ἐκάστης λίτρ[α]ς μιᾶς ἀργυρίου (ταλ.) α (δραχμῶν ?) Ὑ.

[[εἰς τὸ ναῦλον διὰ]]

εἰς τὰς διαγραφὰς μη[.] . τηκων ἀργύριον [δέδ]ωκα τὸ χερρῖ-  
ψιστον καὶ τὸ κο . χ . [.] ἐπ' ἐνεχύρου ἀργυρίου (τάλ.) ρν.

4. ἀλλὰ Pap. 1. ὁμοίως. 6. 1. πλοίου θαλασσίου τελέσματος (?). 7. σιπ'πέου Pap.  
8. ἔπηρειαν Pap. 12. 1. ἦνοιξα. οὐδ' κεραμια Pap. 13. 1. Μόρφ; so in l. 20.  
14. Ὑσ corr.? 17. 1. σοι τῇ γεούχῳ. 24. 1. στιχαρ[ι]ου ου -ων. 26. ἀνάκκης . . .  
επεμψα Pap. 1. ἀνάκκης . . . Μῶρον. 29. σιπ'πέου λι(τρας) ε Pap. 34 (upper  
margin). is Pap. 36. σιπ'πέου Pap.

Account of money received by me :

In payment for purchases

15 talents and  
6 artabae.

In payment similarly to the bakeries

8 tal. and 3 art.

In payment for the donkeys

6 tal. and 10 art.

In payment for a sea-vessel, for charges

9 tal.

In payment for tow

2 tal.

Paid to Palladias for service

1 tal.

Price of two bundles when you were here

2 tal.

Expended by me for annona

The nurse of Palladias had for expenses

1 tal. of silver.

I opened the wine-store and took out

51 jars of wine.

To Morus for expenses of the river-workmen

4 tal.

For alum

20 tal. 2,200 dr.

Price of a bundle to Anchisas

1 talent.

Price of Nonna's shoes (?)

1,200 dr.

To you the owner I sent to Alexandria

8 tal.

For pledges

180 tal.

For interest of two months . . ., for *adaeratio*

10 tal.

Phamenoth 2, to Morus the servant for expenses through Apia daughter of Tapilous	250 tal.
Price of uncoined silver on account of Apia	60 tal.
For the bakers for six months	49 tal.
For a short cloak and tunic	17 tal.
Phamenoth 2, Morus had	64 tal.
Necessity arising, I sent Morus to the village and he received from the sitologi	46 tal. of silver.
Since you went away I have bought 5 pounds of tow at the price for each pound of	1 tal. 2,000 dr.
	of silver.
In payment for . . . I gave the current cash (?) and the . . . on security amounting to	150 tal. of silver.

(Added at the top) And when you went to Alexandria you supplied me with  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pounds of unspun tow. There was sold 1 jar of wine of the supplies at 2 tal. 2,000 dr., and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of tow were bought.'

3. In spite of the title in l. 1 *ap'* here and in the next two lines apparently stands for *ἀρτάβας* rather than *ἀργυρίου*; cf. l. 12, where wine is also included in the account. On the other hand *ἀργυρίου*, though generally omitted, is added occasionally; cf. ll. 11, 28, 30, 33.

7. *σιτπειον* is both here and in l. 29 written for *σιππίον* (cf. ll. 34, 36), for which cf. 1130. 12, note, and P. Giessen 103. 11, note.

9. *δεσμιδιων*: cf. e. g. 1230. 14.

13. *ποταμ[ιτ]ῶν*: cf. 1263. introd.

16. *σολίου*: cf. 741. 8 *σόλια ἀρσενικά ζεύγ(η) η*, 1158. 18, note.

19. Some traces of ink after (*τάλ.*) *ι* may be accidental.

27. *σιτολόγοι* occur in the middle of the fourth century in P. Amh. 139 and 140, and are mentioned in a papyrus dated by Vitelli as late as the fifth or sixth century (P. Flor. 78).

30. In a Rainer papyrus cited by Wessely, *Ein Altersindizium im Philogelos*, p. 42, 4 talents a pound are paid for *σίππιον*.

32. *χερριψιστον* perhaps = *χειρόψηστον*, which, however, does not occur and is a rather far-fetched epithet. A short oblique stroke passing through the tails of each *ρ* seems to be meaningless; the second *ρ* might be read as *β*.

34. *ἀνηστος* as an attribute of *σίππιον* is intelligible, though the form does not appear to occur elsewhere. There is no sign of abbreviation, so that perhaps *ἀνήστω(ν)* should be read.

## 1289. PRIVATE ACCOUNT.

18.6 × 11 cm.

Fifth century.

A list of articles with their prices, which are reckoned apparently in myriads of drachmae.

ΧΜΥ	
<i>Λόγος Ἀρποκρατίωνος</i>	
<i>ζωμάριστρα δ</i>	<i>μ(υριάδες?) νο,</i>
<i>μάχερα στρογ(γ)ύλα γ</i>	<i>μ(υρ.) ρκ,</i>
5 <i>ψαλιδιών ε</i>	<i>μ(υρ.) σν,</i>

ψαλίδι(α) μεγάλα β                    μ(υρ.) ρν,  
 μαχέρον α                                    μ(υρ.) λ,  
 μανιακῶν κ[ ]                            μ(υρ.) υν,  
 σιμαριδίου κεντί[ο]ν α                    μ(υρ.) υν,  
 10 κηάθια κδ                                μ(υρ.) ,ασ,  
 γί(νονται) ὁμοῦ                    μ(υρ.) ,γκκ.

καὶ ἀπὸ παληοῦ λόγου μ(υρ.) ,ασε,

καὶ κηαθίων μεγάλων ιγ μ(υρ.) ,ανδ,

ἔχι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου τούτων μ(υρ.) ,γφκ.

On the verso

15 λοιπὸν ἔχω μ(υρ.) ,αωξ.

4. l. μάχαιρα; cf. l. 7.

10. l. κηάθια; so in l. 13.

12. l. παλαιοῦ.

'Account of Harpocraton: 4 ladles 470 myriads, 3 curved knives 120 myr., 5 pairs of scissors 250 myr., two large pairs of scissors 150 myr., 1 knife 30 myr., 2[.] necklets (?) 450 myr., a . . . 450 myr., 24 cups 1,200 myr., total 3,120 myr. From the old account 1,205 myr., 13 large cups 1,054 myr.; on account of these he has 3,520 myr. I have left 1,860 myr.'

3. ζωμαριστρα = ζωμάρυστρα, a form occurring in Schol. Aristoph. *Acē*. 244.

μ(υριάδες); the abbreviation consists of an μ with a horizontal stroke above it. Of this μ(υριάς) seems to be the most probable resolution, in spite of the largeness of the resulting figures.

4. μάχερα is formed from an abnormal form μάχαιρον; cf. l. 7.

8. μανιάκης commonly means a necklace or bracelet (cf. e. g. 1273. 7), but since 20 or more are here concerned and the price as compared with the other items is not particularly high, the word may have a sense like that attested by Phavorinus τὸ τοῦ ἱματίου περιστόμιον.

9. σιμαριδίων is apparently unknown. For κεντή[ο]ν cf. 922. 11, where the word occurs as an epithet of a horse; κεντη[ο]ν is a less suitable reading.

14. ἔχι: sc. Ἀρποκρατίων?

## 1280. LIST OF ARTICLES.

14.2 × 8.5 cm.

Fifth century.

A short list of utensils and other articles, the names of several of which are obscure.

Σάμαθον ελ . [ . .

κακκάβιον α,

	κουκούμιον	α,
	τυγάνιον	α,
5	τρικέλλαρων	α,
	άκιον	α,
	φουλβιναν	β,
	λοχίδιν	α,
	σιτλίον	α,
10	αγιον χρ( )	α.

1. *σάμαθον* remains unexplained. The next word was perhaps *ελε[ου for ελα[ου.*

2. The diminutive form *κακκάβιον* is cited from Eubulus in Athen. p. 169 c.

3. *κουκούμιον*: cf. 1160. 3, note.

4. *τυγάνιον* is for *τυκάνιον*, a threshing-instrument. Possibly the form in Hesych. *τυτάνη* may have come through *τυγάνη*.

5. *τρικέλλαρων* is apparently unknown in Greek as well as Latin.

6. *άκιον* is perhaps derived from *άκή, άκίς*. According to Hesychius *άκί* was the name of a plant, but that would be out of place in this context. A misspelling of *άγγείον* is more probable; cf. l. 10, note, and l. 4.

7. *φουλβίνος* is apparently the word meant; cf. P. Gen. 80. 13 *φουλβιν α*.

8. *λοχίδιν*: again unknown.

9. *σιτλίον* is a diminutive of *situla*, a bucket.

10. *άγιον* is not very satisfactory, since there is no obvious substantive for *χρ( )*, of which *χρ(υσοῦν)* is the natural expansion. Perhaps, then, *αγιον* is for *άγγείον*; cf. e. g. 1289. 4, where *στρογυλα* is written for *στρογγύλα*.

## (g) PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

### 1291. LETTER OF ZOÏS.

4.8 x 8.2 cm.

A. D. 30.

A short letter from Zoïs to her brother Ischyriion, who is probably identical with the Ischyras in 1292, another letter found at the same time; cf. e. g. 119, where the writer calls himself Theon in l. 1 and Theonas in l. 18, and 1269. 14 and 34, notes.

Ζωὶς Ἰσχυρίωνι τῶι ἀδελφῶ  
 χαίρειν.  
 οὐδ[εῖ]ς μοι ἤνεγκεν  
 ἐπιστολὴν περὶ ἄρτων,

5 ἀλλ' εὐθέως, ἢ ἔπεμ-  
 ψας διὰ Κολλούθου  
 ἐπιστολήν, εἰδοὺ ἀρ-  
 τάβηι σοι γίνεται. ἐὰν  
 δὲ θέρῃς εἰς Ἀλεξάν-  
 10 δρεα(ν) ἀπελθεῖν, Ἀπολ-  
 λῶς Θεῶνος ὑπάγει  
 αὔριον. ἔρρω(σο).  
 (ἔτους) ἰζ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ  
 μη(νὸς) Νέου Σεβαστοῦ κθ.

On the verso

15 Ἴσχυρίῳι.

3. η of ημεγενεν corr. from ε.      5. 1. εἰ.      9. 1. θέλῃς.

'Zoïs to Ischyriion her brother, greeting. No one has brought me a letter about the bread, but if you send a letter by Colluthus, an artaba will come to you immediately. If you wish to depart for Alexandria, Apollos son of Theon is going to-morrow. Good-bye. The 17th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, the 29th of the month Neus Sebastus. (Addressed) To Ischyriion.'

5. η is more likely to be meant for εἰ, as often, than ἦ.

### 1292. LETTER OF HERMOGENES.

11.5 × 7.3 cm.

About A. D. 30.

A short letter from Hermogenes to his brother, asking for two hundred jars, and stating that he had sent some money and was prepared to supply wood for the transport of a water-wheel. The papyrus was found with 1291, which is dated in A. D. 30, and is probably addressed to the same correspondent.

Ἐρμογένῃς Ἴσχυρᾶτι τῶι  
 ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν.  
 εὔ [π]οήσεις ἐμβα-  
 λόμενός μοι κενώ-  
 5 ματα διακ[ό]σια,  
 ὡς σὲ καὶ πρὶν ἠρώ-  
 τησα. ἔχεις δὲ  
 τὰς διὰ Σαρᾶτος ἀργυρίου) (δραχμὰς) ις,

καὶ ἔδωκα Ἐρμάτι δοῦναι  
 10 σοι (δραχμὰς) ἰβ.  
 ἐὰν δὲ χρέαν ἔχη(ς) μάλιστ[α  
 ξυλαρίων] δύο ἵνα μοι τὸν  
 τροχὸν τῆς μηχανῆς κα-  
 τελέγκης, δι[ὰ] . . . ἀνε-  
 15 νεχθήσεται σ[οι.] τὰ δ' ἄλλα  
 ἔρρω(σο).

On the verso

τῷ φιλτάτῳ Ἴσχυράτι.

9. ο of δουναι corr. from ι(?).

‘Hermogenes to Ischyras his brother, greeting. Please put on board for me two hundred empty jars, as I asked you before. You have the 16 drachmae of silver by Saras, and I have given Hermas 12 drachmae to give you. If you specially require two pieces of wood to bring down to me the wheel of the machine, they shall be brought up to you by . . . For the rest, good-bye. (Addressed) To my dearest Ischyras.’

## 1293. LETTER OF THEON.

23.9 × 9.2 cm.

A. D. 117-38.

A letter from a son to his mother concerning the dispatch of oil and other articles. The reigning emperor whose name has been lost in l. 37 was most probably Hadrian.

Θέων [Φιλ]ουμένη τῇ μητρὶ  
 χαίρειν.

πρὸ τῶν ὄ[λων] εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαί-  
 νειν σὺν τῷ πατρὶ μου. κόμισαι  
 5 παρὰ Σαρᾶτος Μάρκου ἐλαίου ἀφροδ(ισιακοῦ)  
 καλοῦ μετρητὰς τέσσαρας ἥμισυ  
 κομισαμένη οὖν δήλωσόν μοι.  
 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ λαμβάνω ἐπιστολὰς παρ' αὐ-  
 τοῦ περὶ τῆς ποσότητος τῶν ἐλαίων)  
 10 ὧν κομίσι ὑμῖν, (πέμψειν?) οὐ μέλλω. ἔδει  
 αὐτῷ διδῶναι ὅσι οὐκ ἔστ' αὐτὸς  
 Σαρᾶς, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος ξένος ἐστὶν οὗ δεῖ

- με πισθῆναι ὡς ἐσχήκατε· ὥσ-  
 τε του λοιποῦ γράφεται, τῶν γὰρ  
 15 πρώτων τεσσάρων ἡμίσεους ἐπιστολῆν  
 οὐκ ἔσχον. τοῦτο οὐχ ἔνεκα ἡμῶν  
 ποιῶ ἀλλὰ ἔνεκα τῶν καμηλειτῶν,  
 μὴ θελήσῃ τις ἀφεῖναι μέρος  
 μὴ ἐνένκας. λέγει μοι Σαρᾶς Ἔασον  
 20 τοὺς ἄλλους πέντε μετρητὰς περὶ  
 ὧν γράφεις εἰς τὸ ἄλλο ἀγῶγιον· ἐὰν  
 δὲ μὴ εὔρω τὸν βαστάζοντα, ἐάσω  
 αὐτό. ἐπεμψα Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ ἀδελ(φῶ)  
 εἰς βαφῆν ἐρ[ί]δια, ἐπειδὴ ὑστερῶ  
 25 τέταρτα δ[ύ]ο, καὶ οὐκ ἔφθακαν  
 κατα[γαγεῖν (?)] διὰ τὸ τὰς ἡμέρας  
 [. . . . .] εἶ[ναι]. ἔγραψα αὐτῷ  
 [. . . . .]α εἰ μὴ σύ μοι αὐτά  
 [. . . . .]αν πέμψω σοι. κόμισαι  
 30 [παρὰ Σαρᾶτος] Μάρκου σφυρίδια δύο ἐσφρα(γισμένα)  
 [. . . . .] σοὶ ἐν καὶ Πλουτάρχῃ τῇ  
 [. . . . .] ἔν. κόμισαι καὶ παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου(ν)  
 [. . . . .]. ἰδιο(ν) ἀφροδισιακὸν  
 [. . . . .] αὐτῷ φοινη{ν}κ( ).  
 35 [ ἔρρ]ω(σο).  
 [ἔτους . . . . .] Ἀὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 [Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ Ἐπεὶπ λ.  
 [. . . . .] τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς παρὰ Κάστωρο(ς)  
 [. . . . .] . . . χω( ) ἀφροδ(ισιακ ) ἐν σφ(υρίδιον) ἐσφραγ(ισμένον)  
 40 [. . . . .]. Ψατρῆτος υἱοῦ

At right angles along the left-hand margin

Κολλούθου Φαλοῦ(τος) λεγομένου σφαίρας δέκα. ὄψωμαι πάλιν τίς σοι  
 βαστάξει ἀλ[λὰ 23 letters  
 θέλω πέμπειν ὑμῖν πάντα, ἀλ(λ') οὐκ ἔχω τὸν βαστάζοντα.

On the verso

εἰς Τα . π( ) [τ]οῦ Ἀπολλωνοπ(ολίτου) Φιλουμένη τ[ῆ] μητρί.





- [. . . . .]ν ἐν ᾧ δύο τετραδέρματα καὶ ἱμάτιον  
 5 [. . . . .]. ατενο καὶ χεῖλωμα, καὶ παρὰ Διδύμου  
 ἄ[ο]υ ναυτικοῦ πανάριον ἐν ᾧ ὑάλαι λάγνοι δ ὕγεια  
 καὶ ἱμάντα δεδεμένον εἰς τὸ πανάριον καλὸν καὶ γ  
 σικάρια· ἐξ αὐτῶν σεαυτῇ ἐν ἄρον. καὶ παρὰ Κάρπου  
 τοῦ [[δοῦλου]] Κλέωνος κόμισαι τὸ τοῦ παναρίου κλειδίον.  
 10 [ἐὰν δὲ σὺ] μὴ δυνηθῆς ἀνοῖξαι τὸ πανάριον, δυσκό-  
 [λως γὰρ ἀνοί]γεται, δὸς τῷ κλειδοποιῷ καὶ ἀνοίξει σοι  
 . [. . . . . μελη]σάτω δέ σοι τῶν ἐν τῷ χεῖλωματι ἵνα  
 μὴ σαπῇ. μὴ ὀλιγοψύχει δὲ [π]ερὶ τοῦ ἐνοικίου,  
 εἰσάπαξ γὰρ αὐτὸ λήμψῃ. π[ε]ρὶ πάντων τούτων εἰ  
 15 ἐκομίσω δῆλωσόν μοι διὰ τοῦ [ν]αυτικοῦ, ἐὰν δέ τι-  
 νός σοι χρεῖα ἦ {ν}, δῆλωσόν μοι. ἀσπάξο(μαι) Ταυσεῖριν τὴν θυ[γ]ατ(έρα)  
 καὶ Σαραπᾶν. ἔρρω[σο, ἀδ]ελφῆ.  
 [. . . . .]. κ.

On the verso

Διδύμη.

4. ἱμάτιο Pap.      6. First a of ναλαι corr. from λ (?).      7. ἱμάντα Pap.      12.  
 ἵνα Pap.      15. The vertical stroke of κ in ναυτικον rewritten.

‘. . . to the lady Didyme his sister, greeting. Receive from the slave of the strategus a . . . chest containing two parchment quaternions and a cloak . . . and a box, and from Didymus the sailor a bread-basket containing 4 glass flasks in sound condition, and a good strap tied to the basket, and 3 knives; of these take one for yourself. And from Carpus son of Cleon receive the key of the bread-basket. If you cannot open the basket yourself, for it opens with difficulty, give it to the key-maker, and he will open it for you . . . Take care of the things in the box lest they rot. Do not lose heart about the rent, for you will get it once for all. Tell me through the sailor about all these things, whether you have received them, and if you require anything, let me know. I salute Tausiris my daughter and Sarapas. Good-bye, sister. . . . 20th. (Addressed) To Didyme.’

3. χεῖλωμάτιον and χεῖλωμα (ll. 5, 12) are, as l. 12 shows, receptacles of some kind and may be connected with χηλός. It is strange that a χεῖλωμα should be contained in a χεῖλωμάτιον.

4. Possibly [ἐσφραγισμένο]ν; cf. e. g. 1293. 30, 39. τετραδέρμον in the sense of quaternion occurs in *Martyrium Petri Alex.* p. 212. ἱμάτιο at the end of the line may be either for ἱμάτιον or a compound word.

5. How ] . ατενο is to be emended is obscure owing to the lacuna.

6. The form ὕγιος is cited in Stephanus from a glossary. λάγνος is fem. also in B. G. U. 1095. 19.

## 1295. LETTER OF TASOÏS.

14.8 x 11.5 cm.

Second or early third century.

A letter from a woman complaining that her correspondent Dionysius was attempting to alienate her son, who apparently was in his charge, and threatening to remove the boy from Dionysius' influence.

Τασοῖς Διο[ν]υσίωι τῶι τιμ[ι]ωτά-  
 τωι χαίρειν.  
 ἰδοῦ μὲν ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐμιμησάμην σε  
 τοῦ ἀπ(οσπ)ᾶν τὸν υἱόν μου, ἐὰν δὲ μέλ-  
 5 λης οὔτω αὐτῷ ἐπιτιμᾶν, Πτολε-  
 μαῖ[ο]ν πέμψασα ἀποσπάσ[ω] αὐτόν.  
 ὅτε ὁ πατ[ή]ρ αὐτοῦ ἐτελεύτησεν  
 ἔδωκα [ὑ]πὲρ αὐτοῦ (δραχμὰς) Ἄτ καὶ ἀν-  
 ἄλωσα αὐτῷ εἰς ἱμάτια (δραχμὰς) ξ.  
 10 δέο οὔν, μὴ ἀνάπειθε αὐτὸν τοῦ  
 ἐκτός μου εἶ[ν]αι, ἐπεὶ ἄρασα αὐτὸν  
 ἐνέχυρον θήσω εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρι-  
 αν. καλῶς οὔν ποιήσεις πέμψασ[ς]  
 μοι διμήνου ὀψώνιον διὰ τοῦ  
 15 ἀναδιδόντος σοι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον  
 καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον, καὶ δήλωσόν μοι  
 πόσου χαλκοῦ δέδωκες αὐτῶι  
 καὶ εἰ ἐκομίσω τὸ ἱμάτιον.  
 πέμψον τὸ μαφόρτιον τῷ ἀδελ-  
 20 [φ]ῷ σου.  
 ἔρρωσο.

On the verso

Δ[ιο]νυ[σί]ωι ἀπὸ Τασοῖτος.

4. υἱόν Pap.  
σοι corr.10. 1. δέομαι.  
17. 1. πόσον χαλκόν.

15. s of ἀναδιδόντος written above ν and σ of

‘Tasoïs to her most esteemed Dionysius, greeting. See, I have not imitated you by taking away my son, but if you intend to blame him in this way, I shall send Ptolemaeus

and take him away. When his father died, I paid on his behalf 1,300 drachmae and expended on clothes for him 60 drachmae. I therefore beg that you will not persuade him to desert me, or I shall take him away and put him in pledge at Alexandria. So please send me a payment for two months through the bearer of this letter and the cloak, and let me know how much money you have given to him and whether you have received the cloak. Send the veil to your brother. Good-bye. (Addressed) To Dionysius from Tasoïs.'

12. What exactly the writer intended by this threat is not clear. Perhaps she contemplated a loan on the security of her son's services, which might be engaged in lieu either of the principal or the interest of the debt; cf. e. g. Wessely, *Führer P. E. R.* No. 433, P. Flor. 44, Tebt. 384, Lewald, *Zur Personalexekution*, pp. 14 sqq.

## 1296. LETTER OF DIUS.

15.8 × 10 cm.

Third century.

A letter from a son to his father, assuring him that his studies were proceeding satisfactorily. Cf. the good advice given by a father to his son in 531. 9-12.

Αὐρήλιος Δῖος Αὐρηλίῳ Ὀρείῳ  
 νι τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ μου πατρὶ πολλὰ  
 χαίρειν.

- τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ καθ' ἐκάστην  
 5 ἡμέραν παρὰ τοῖς ἐνθάδε θεοῖς. ἀμερί-  
 μνη οὖν, πάτερ, χάριν τῶν μαθημάτων  
 ἡμῶν· φιλοπονοῦμεν καὶ ἀναψύχομεν,  
 καλῶς ἡμεῖ[ι]ν ἔσται. ἀσπάζομαι τὴν μη-  
 τέραν μου Ταμείαν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μου  
 10 Τνεφεροῦν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μου Φιλοῦν,  
 ἀσπάζομαι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου Πατερμοῦ-  
 θιν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μου Θερμοῦθιν,  
 ἀσπάζομαι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου Ἡρακ(λ )  
 καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου Κολλοῦχ(ιν), ἀσπάζομαι  
 15 τὸν πατέρα μου Μέλανον καὶ τὴν μητέ-  
 ραν μου Τιμπεσοῦρ(ιν) καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς.  
 ἀσπάζεταιται ἡμᾶς πάντες Γαία,  
 ἀσπάζεταιται ἡμᾶς πάντες ὁ πατήρ μου  
 Ὀρείων καὶ Θερμοῦθις.

20 ἔρρωσθαί σοι εὔχομαι, πάτερ.

On the verso

ἀπόδ(ος) Α(ύρηλίω) Ὀρείωνι ἀπὸ Δίου υἱοῦ.

5. l. ἀμερίμνει. 6. μαθηματῶ Pap. 8. ω of καλως above ο, which is crossed through. 16. υἱον Pap. 17. l. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς; so in l. 18. γαῖα Pap. 20. l. σε.

‘Aurelius Dios to Aurelius Horion my sweetest father, many greetings. I perform the act of veneration for you every day before the gods of this place. Do not be anxious, father, about my studies; I am industrious and take relaxation: all will be well with me. I salute my mother Tamiea and my sister Tnepherous and my sister Philous, I salute my brother Patermouthis and my sister Thermouthis, I salute my brother Heracl . . . and my brother Kollouchis, I salute my father Melanus and my mother Timpesouris and her son. Gaia salutes you all, my father Horion and Thermouthis salute you all. I pray for your health, father. (Addressed) Deliver to Aurelius Horion from his son Dios.’

15. This papyrus provides a good illustration of the loose use of πατήρ, μήτηρ, &c., at this period; besides Horion, who was no doubt his real father (cf. l. 21), the writer refers to two other men as ‘father’ (ll. 15, 18), and he speaks of two women as ‘mother’ (ll. 8, 15); cf. e. g. 1300. 8, P. Giessen I. iii, p. 53<sup>1</sup>. The true relationship of all the ‘brothers’ and ‘sisters’ mentioned may also be questioned.

#### 1297. LETTER OF SARMATES.

24 × 9.3 cm.

Fourth century.

A letter announcing the dispatch of various articles and asking for others to be sent. The spelling and grammar are remarkable.

Σαρμάτης ἰδίῳ Διοσκόρῳ.  
 ἀπέστειλά σοι διὰ Ἄμμωνος  
 τοῦ ἱερέους[[s]] μάριον  
 ἐλαίου, ἄψαι αὐτῷ κεῖται,  
 5 καὶ διὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Θεο-  
 δώρου σφυρίδια τέσ(σαρα),  
 ἄ[ψ]αι αὐτὰ κεῖται, καὶ  
 προ . εἰνάριον ἐλαίου,  
 ἀνικαλύψαι αὐτὸν καὶ  
 10 φάγαι, καὶ σπατίον οἴνου,  
 πιε[ῖ]ν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν εἰορ-  
 τήν, καὶ διὰ Ἰλιτος σφυ-  
 ρίδιον ἓν, ἄψαι αὐτὸν κεῖ-  
 ται. ἔὰν καταλάβῃ Θεό-

15 δωρος ἐκεῖ, δεῦ(ρο) μετ' αὐ-  
 τοῦ καὶ ἔνεγκε{ν} τοὺς  
 ἄμηντας ἐρχόμενος καὶ  
 τὸ ξελεγνον, οὐ τὸ χαρ-  
 τάρειν. . . . .  
 20 . . . . .  
 ἐρρῶσθαι εὐχομαι.

On the verso

ἀπ(όδος) τῇ μητρὶ καὶ πατρὶ μου  
 Σαρμάτης.

1. ἴδιω Pap.      3. l. ἱερέως.      4. l. αὐτό.      5. l. τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.      9. l. ἀνακαλύψαι.  
 10. l. σπαθίον.      11. l. ἐορτήν.      18. ο of το corr. from α.

'Sarmates to his own Dioscorus. I sent you by Ammon the priest a *marium* of oil, which is meant for you to burn, and by my brother Theodorus four baskets, which are for you to burn, and a . . . of oil for you to uncover and eat, and a *spathium* of wine for you to drink at the festival, and by Ilis one basket for you to burn. If Theodorus reaches you there, come here with him and bring the milk cakes when you come and the . . ., not the papyrus. I pray for your health. (Addressed) Deliver to my mother and father from Sarmates.'

3. *μάριον* is an apparently otherwise unattested diminutive of *μάρις*.

7. ἀ[ψ]αι appears to imply that the *σφυρίδια* contained oil. Cf. ll. 12-13.

8. *προ*. *ευναριον* must be a vessel or measure of some kind. If the ε is right, there is barely room for a preceding π, or the word might possibly be derived from *προπίνη* (*φορίνα*).

10. For the infin. *φάγαι* cf. e. g. P. Tor. i. 5. 27 μετῆλθαι, B. G. U. 250. 8 ἐπενέγkαι. Analogous forms in the personal endings of the aorist are common.

14. *καταλάβη*: cf. P. Giessen 103. 8, 22, Wilcken, *Chrest.* 297. 6, note.

18. *ξελεγνον* is another obscure word. *ὑπον* might be read instead of -ον οὐ, but the previous letters then become very difficult, especially as there can be little doubt that *το* has been altered from *τα*, not vice versa.

19-20. *χαρτάρειν* is followed by some unintelligible writing, which is unlike shorthand and suggests rather a cipher. The characters are, in l. 20 F, L, d, o, I, Latin cursive s, a sign resembling that for 4 obols, o, Latin cursive c with long oblique head, cursive s, and the 4-obol sign again, σ, o, and in l. 21 σοπλω. Cf. 90. 6-7.

#### 1298. LETTER OF AMMON.

11.1 × 11.5 cm.

Fourth century.

An incomplete letter from a man to his friend, complaining of the treatment which he had received in a transaction concerning some wine, and inviting sympathy or assistance. The writing is across the fibres of the verso, the recto being blank.

Τῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ ἀσυνκρίτῳ  
 καὶ παραμυθία τῶν φίλων Γο-  
 νατι Ἀμμων χαίρειν. πρὸ παν-  
 τὸς εὐχομε τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ πε-  
 5 ρὶ τῆς ὀλοκληρίας σου καὶ τῶν  
 φιλτάτων σου. ἐγὼ μόνος πά-  
 νυ ἔμαντὸν τηρῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀσ-  
 φαλὴν πᾶσε ἐλέσχε τοῦ κόσμου  
 περὶ ἐμὲ γίνοντε. σὲ γὰρ μόνον  
 10 ἔχω μάρτυρα πῶς ὁ Γοῦνθος δρα-  
 ξάμενός μου ἠνίκα Κάσσωρ ὁ τοῦ  
 Δαμοστράτου ἐπιμελητῆς ὦν  
 τοῦ οἴνου ἀπέσστιλέ μοι ὁ Γοῦνθος  
 ἀποχὴν οἴνου σπαθίων ζς,  
 15 ὑπὲρ Τρωίλου λς, ἐμοῦ κβ, Δίου  
 η, καὶ ἐμοῦ παραγεναμένου ἐν  
 τῷ Ὁξυρρχίτῃ ὑπελόγησέ μοι  
 ἐκάστου σπαθίου (τάλαντα) ζ, ὅπερ σὺ τού-  
 του μεσίτης ἐτ . . . . ἡ ὅτι ε . .

On the verso

20 τῷ κ]υρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ  
 Γο]νατῷ Ἀμμων.

2. l. Γοιταῖ.      4. l. εὐχομαι.      6. l. μόνον?      7. ὑπερ Pap.      8. l. πᾶσαι  
 αὶ λέσσαι.      9. l. γίνονται.      17. l. Ὁξυρρχίτη. ὑπελογησε Pap.

'To my incomparable master, the consolation of his friends, Gonatas from Ammon, greeting. Before all else I pray to the Lord God for the prosperity of yourself and those dearest to you. I have been keeping myself quite alone beyond the point of safety, and all the vain talk of the world besets me. For I have only you to witness how Gunthus laid hands on me when Castor son of Damostratus, superintendent of wine—Gunthus sent me a receipt for 66 *spathia* of wine; for Troilus 36, for me 22, for Dios 8, and when I came to the Oxyrhynchite nome he charged me for each *spathium* 7 talents, which you being the intermediary in this . . . (Addressed) To my lord and brother Gonatas from Ammon.'

11-13. The conjunctival clause is left incomplete. For the doubling of the σ in Κάσσωρ &c., cf. e. g. the hexameter fragment edited by Goodspeed in *Chicago Lit. Pap.*, where σσ is especially common before τ.

18. In papyri of the middle of the fourth century cited by Wessely, *Altersindizium im Philogelos*, p. 35, a σπαθίων of wine is priced at 20 and 25 talents.

## 1299. LETTER OF PSAÏS AND SYRA.

24.5 x 18.1 cm.

Fourth century.

A letter to a son from his parents, giving news of their health and of their preparations for his arrival.

Κυρίῳ μου υἱῷ Ἰσίῳ(ν) Ψᾶεις καὶ Σύρα  
πολλὰ χαίρειν.  
πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σοι υἰγιένειν καὶ ὀλοκλη-  
ρεῖν παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ ἀσπάζεται σοι πολλὰ Θῶνις ὁ (ἀ)δελφός  
5 σου. ἔπιτα ἀπὸ τοῦ νέου ἔτους πολλὰ ἐνοσοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ εὐχαρισ-  
τῶ[μ]εν τῷ θεῷ ὅτι ἐπανμένην ἐσμέ(ν), καὶ μέχρι τούτου  
οὐκ ἐθύκαμεν τὰ χοιρίδια. προσδοκοῦμέν σοι ὅτι ἔρχε[ι.] οἶ-  
δας ὅτι (ὑ)πὲρ σ(ο)ῦ οὐκ{κ} ἐταριχεύσαμεν γαρηρά, ἐφ' ἔτος δ[ἐ] ἐποι-  
ήσαμεν καὶ ἐὰν γένηται, ἐτυμάσο αὐτὸ ἕως ἔρχη. καθὼς  
10 ἐνετιλά{ν}μην σ[ο]ι [περ]ὶ λωβιν μαχερῶν καὶ περὶ πιπε-  
ράδιον. ἀσπάζεται σοι οἱ ἀδελφοί σου Ὀρίων καὶ Ἡραῖσκου,  
ἀσπάζεται σοι Ἀν[. . .]ν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς, ἀσπά-  
ζεται σοι Ταχωῶ[ις] καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, ἀσπάζεται σοι  
Τριάδελφος καὶ ἡ σύνβιος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ.  
15 ἀσπάζομαι Κάμορον καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, ἀσπά-  
ζομαι τὸν Ἐψάτην καὶ τὴν σύνβιον αὐτοῦ σὺν  
τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀσπάζομαι Ἀτρῆν καὶ Ψέκη καὶ  
τοὺς ἡμῶν πάντα(ς) κατ' ὄνομα.

ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι  
20 [ε]ἰς πολλοὺς χρόνους. Ἀθὺρ ι.

On the verso

ἀπόδ(ος) Ἰσίῳνι . ρα . . . π(αρά) Σύρα καὶ Ψᾶεις γονεῦσι.

1. υἱῷ Pap. 3. 1. σε υἰγαίειν. 5. 1. νέον. 6. 1. εὐχαριστοῦμεν . . .  
πεπανμένοι. ι of μέχρι rewritten. 7. 1. οὐ τεθύκαμεν τὰ χοιρίδια. 9. 1. ἐτοιμάσω αὐτό.  
10. μα of μαχερων inserted above the line; 1. μαχαρῶν. 11. 1. ἀσπάζονται σε; so in ll. 12, 13.  
ηραῖσκου (κ corr. from ο) Pap. 1. Ἡραῖσκος. 21. 1. Σύρας καὶ Ψύιτος γονέων.

'To my lord and son Ision from Psais and Syra, many greetings. Before all else I pray to the Lord God for your health and prosperity; Thonis your brother sends you



many salutations. Next, since the new year we have been very ill, but we give thanks to God that we have recovered; and up to the present time we have not sacrificed the pigs. We are expecting you to come. You know that on your account we have not salted any fish, but we have made the pickle yearly, and, if possible, I will prepare it for your coming. Do as I told you about the . . . of knives and the pepper. Your brothers Horion and Heraïscus salute you, An . . . n and her children salute you, Tachosis and her husband salute you, Triadelphus and his wife and children salute you. I salute Kamokos and his household, I salute Hepsates and his wife with their children, I salute Hatres, Pseke, and all our friends by name. I pray for your long-continued health. Hathur 10. (Addressed) Deliver to Ision . . . from his parents Syra and Psais.'

7. ἐθύκαμεν: cf. l. 6 ἐπανμένην. But only the bottom of the supposed κ of οὐκ is preserved and there may have been some correction.

8. γαρηρά is apparently novel, but cf. e. g. ταριχηρός.

9-10. καθώς κτλ. does not connect at all well with what precedes and is better taken as an independent sentence, the main verb being unexpressed, but easily understood. λωβον is obscure; λώπιον would not suit this context. The preceding [περ]ί is required to balance περι πιπεράδιον. The latter diminutive form does not seem to occur elsewhere.

## 1300. LETTER OF PETER.

9.9 × 31.1 cm.

Fifth century.

A badly spelled letter from a son to his mother asking that various articles might be sent to him, and making other requests. The words χαί(ρειν) in l. 2 and ἔρροσθαί σε πολλοῖς χρόνοις (sc. εὔχομαι) in ll. 8-10 were written in a different hand, no doubt by the sender himself, before the vacant spaces originally left in these lines were filled in by the insertion of the reference to Theon, and the request for a veil and hood.

ΧΜΥ

Τῆ κυρία μου τιμιωτάτη καὶ ἐναρέτη (μη)τρὶ Μαρία ὁ υἱὸς Πέτρος ἐν  
 κ(υρί)φ θ(ε)ῶ χαί(ρειν).  
 εὐκερίαν εὐρων διὰ τούτον μου τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ πολλὰ προσαγορευσαί  
 σε ἄμα καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Θεῶνι καὶ τῆ κυρία μου  
 ἀδελφῆ Πλουση καὶ τῶν γλυκητάτον μου ἀδελφίον Ἑραεῖν καὶ Νόννα καὶ  
 Ὀμαία καὶ Φοιβάμ-  
 5 μων(ι) κατ' ὄνομα. θέλησον οὖν, κύρα μήτηρ, ἀποστίλέ μη τὰ ολοιαρα  
 καὶ τὰ κρηκία. μή  
 ἀμελήσις οὖν ἀποστίλέ μη αὐτὰ διὰ Ἀθανασίου. πολλὰ προσαγορεύο τὸν  
 κύριόν μου  
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀθανάσιον τὸν καμαλάριον τοῦ Ἀβέλου ἀλλ(λ)ὰ καὶ τοῦ  
 Δωροθέου, πολλὰ

προσαγορεύο τὴν μητέρα μου Κυριλλοῦν. ἐρροσθαί σε θέλησον οὖν, κύρα  
μήτηρ, ἀγο-

ράσε μη ἐν φακηάριν παχὴν εἰς τὸν χημο- πολλοῖς -ν καὶ θέλ[η]σον λαβῖν  
τὸ κούκλιον

10 τὸ Ἀνασιτικὸν παρὰ Πέτρου τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἐσοῦρ χρόνοι εἶνα φο[ρῶ] τοῦτ]ο  
ἐρχόμενος.

On the verso

ἀπόδος το φι(λτάτη)  
τοῦ υἱοῦ σου

Μαρία παρὰ  
Πέτρου.

2. ι of κυρια corr. from α. α of τιμοσατη corr. from η. 3. 1. εὐκαιρίαν εὔρον διὰ τούτων.  
και του αδελφου θεωνι added above the line. 1. τῷ ἀδελφῷ. η of τη corr. 4. 1. τοῖς γλυκυ-  
τάτοις μου ἀδελφίσις Ἡραῖδι. 5. 1. ἀποστῆλαι μοι (so in l. 6) . . . κρια. 6. 1. προσ-  
αγορεύω; so in l. 8. 7. The loop of φ in ἀδελφον rewritten; so in l. 9 φακηαρν. 1.  
καμαράριον. 8. 1. Κυριλλοῦν. ἐρρῶσθαι . . . ἀγοράσαι. 9. 1. μοι . . . φακιάρι(ο)ν παχὺ . . .  
χειμῶνα. 11. 1. τῆ.

‘To my most esteemed and virtuous mother, the lady Maria, from your son Peter in the Lord God, greeting. I have found a good opportunity by this letter to greet you many times with my brother Theon and my sister the lady Plusia and my sweetest brethren Heraïs, Nonna, Omaia, and Phoebammon, by name. Be pleased, my lady mother, to send me the . . . and the rings. Do not neglect to send them to me by Athanasius. Many greetings to my lord brother Athanasius the valet of Abel and also of Dorotheus; many greetings to my mother Cyrillous. I pray for your long health. Be pleased, my lady mother, to buy me a thick veil for the winter, and to get the Oasis hood from Peter son of Esour, that I may wear it when I come. (Addressed) Deliver to my dearest Maria from your son Peter.’

4. ἀδελφιον is found in Eustath. p. 886. 36 and other late writers.

5. ολοιαρα is unknown. A corruption of τὴν ὄλυραν seems hardly likely.

6. ἀμελήσις may be merely due to the writer's erratic orthography, but cf. e. g. B. G. U.

814. 27 μὴ ἀφήσις.

8. μητέρα: cf. 1296. 15, note.

9. κούκλιον is probably a syncopated form of κουκούλλιον, cuculla; cf. κουκλώειν for κουκουλόειν.

## (1/2) MISCELLANEOUS MINOR DOCUMENTS.

1301. 7.8 × 5.8 cm. Fragment of an application to the strategus of the Prosopite nome from the comarchs of a village. The document is numbered η and was glued on the left side to another, of which the end of a line remains. The text is Ἀνρηλίω Διονυσίω . . . | στρα(τηγῷ) Προσωπέτου ρ[. . .] | παρὰ Ἀρη-

λίων Κ. [. . . | κωμαρχῶν κώμ[ης . . . | τοῦδε τοῦ νομοῦ του[. . . | θον (θ corr.) χρῆ  
τοὺς ἐπ. [. . . πα|ροῦσι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ κ[ώμῃ . . . | ἐγβολέας (cf. P. Rylands 90. 17, note)  
ὄνομα . . . [ and remains of one more line. Late third or early fourth century.

**1302.** 8 × 5.6 cm. Three lines containing the words Ὑπόμνημα ἐπιστρα(τήγου)  
(Ἐπτα)νο(μίας) ις ἔτους Μεσορῆ ια, perhaps a title. Complete. The reign  
referred to may well be that of Septimius Severus (A.D. 208).

**1303.** 4.7 × 5.7 cm. Beginning of a declaration on oath addressed to [Φλαοῖψ  
Παρανίψ] τῷ καὶ Μακροβίψ λογιστῇ of the Oxyrhynchite nome (cf. 1265. 5),  
by a weaver (λιούφος) through the agency of (?) ] Ἀφθονίου Ἡσιχίου (η corr.  
from ἰ (?); l. Ἡσυχ.). Ends of 8 lines. About A.D. 336.

**1304.** 5.5 × 9.8 cm. Fragment of an application for payment from two  
brothers (whose status does not appear), of Oxyrhynchus. Lines 4–7  
δεόμεθα ἐπισταλῆναι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τὰς ὀφειλομένας ἡμεῖν ὑπὲρ τιμῆς πυροῦ  
συναγοραστικοῦ οὗ ἐμετρήσαμεν ἕως κγ μηνὸς Καισαρέ[ο]υ. Cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.*  
pp. 359–60, and for the form of the document e.g. 55, C. P. Herm. 67.  
Reign of Marcus Aurelius (?). Beginning and end lost. 9 lines.

**1305.** 6 × 5.5 cm. Fragment of an account of a meeting, with acclamations  
similar to those in 41; cf. C. P. Herm. 7. i. 9, *Archiv* iii, p. 541. Lines 5–9  
. . . Ὁκεανὲ Διονύσι]ξ, Ὁκεανὲ Διόσκορε, ἀλλ. . [. . . | ] Διονύσιε φιλόβουλε,  
Διόσκο[ρε . . . | . . . Ὁκεανὲ] Διονύσιε, Ὁκεανὲ Διόσκορε [. . . | . . . ] Φλαῖτις  
Διόσκορος γενόμενος [. . . | . . . ὁ διασημότατος ἡμ]ῶν ἡγεμὼν ἐν πᾶσι πρ[. . .  
Late third century. Parts of 10 lines.

**1306.** 8.5 × 5.8 cm. Application similar to 1109, &c., sent in by Aurelius  
Sarap . . . for the ἐπίκρισις of his son. Lines 3–10 . . . κατὰ τὰ κελε[υσθ(έντα)  
περὶ ἐπικρίσεως] τῶν προσβ(εβηκότων) εἰς (τρισκαϊδεκαετείς) εἰ [ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων  
γονέ]ων μητροπολιτῶν [(δωδεκαδράχμων) εἰσίν, ἐτάγη ἐπ' ἀμ]φύδ(ου) Μυροβαλάνου  
ὁ υἱός μου . . . . . ] μητρὸς Ἡρᾶτος Ἡρα[ 15 letters ] τῷ διελ(θόντι) κγ (ἔτει),  
ὅθεν [παραγενόμενος] πρὸ[ς] τῇ[ν] τούτου ἐπ[κ(ρισιν) δηλῶ αὐτὸν εἶναι] (δωδε-  
κά[δραχμον) κ]ἀμὲ δ[μο]ίως εἶναι . . . The father's name Aurelius suggests that  
the 23rd year is that of Caracalla (A.D. 214–15), though palaeographically that  
of Commodus (A.D. 182–3) would be suitable enough. Parts of 13 lines.

**1307.** 7.2 × 15 cm. Four lines, unaddressed, containing an official response  
(ὑπογραφὴ) to some petition. The text is Π(αρά) Αὐρηλίου Σιλβανοῦ Θέωνος,  
[ἔτους] γ Φαρμοῦθι κ. [ὁ σ]τρατηγὸς τοῦ νομοῦ μηδὲν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον [γ]ενέσθαι  
φροντιεῖ. κόλ(λημα) θ, τό(μος) α (cf. e.g. B. G. U. 582 and P. Thead. 19. 21–3).  
Third century. Complete but for the slight loss at the beginnings of the  
lines. In the right-hand bottom corner 3 or 4 letters (πᾶσι?), written in the  
reverse direction, from the beginning of a line, probably the last of a document  
from which the strip of papyrus was cut.

- 1308.** 7.5 × 8.6 cm. Memorandum of payment (by a tax-collector) of 2 tal. 3,388 dr. for two months on account of γεωμετρία. The text is Δ (ἔτους) Ἀθύρ, διεγρ(άφησαν) εἰς μηνιαῖον Φαῶφι ὑπὲρ γεομετρίας αἰρούτων δύ[ο] μηνιαίων Θῶθ καὶ Φαῶφ[ι] ἀργ(υρίου) (τάλαντα) β (δραχμαὶ) Ἑττη. Late second or early third century. Practically complete. Four lines, written across the fibres.
- 1309.** 8.1 × 8.1 cm. End of a document recording a supplementary payment (to the State) of 1,925 dr., ὦν καὶ σύμβολον ἔσχον. Dated (ἔτους) 5 Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουή[ρ]ου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου κα[ὶ Μάρ]κου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντ[ωνίνου] ἀποδεδειγ[μένου] Ἀντοκράτορος Μεχέρ 1α (Feb. 5, A.D. 198); cf. 910. introd., *T. Tebt.* 397. 2. Incomplete. 12 lines.
- 1310.** 6.2 × 6.9 cm. Memorandum or ticket of clothing: Κιθώνιον ἀργέντιον (cf. 1273. 12) καὶ μαφόρτιον. Third century. Complete. 3 lines, written across the fibres.
- 1311.** 5.8 × 8 cm. Memorandum of a payment or contribution of oil for the use of an anchorite (?). The text is Εἰς τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἀποτακτῆρος (cf. ἀποτάκται, ἀποταξάμενοι) Ἀνιανὸς πρ(εσβύτερος ?) μαρτυρ(ίου) Ἄπα Ἰούστον (cf. 1151. 50, note). Fifth century. Complete. 3 lines, written across the fibres.
- 1312.** 7.2 × 8 cm. An obscure memorandum: Τὸ σικου (?) ἀπὸ Πεκτυεύτου εὐρίσκειται. Fifth century. Complete. 3 lines, written across the fibres.
- 1313.** 1.1 × 11 cm. Ends of two lines mentioning a praefect Heracleus. The text is ] Ἡρακλήου δὲ τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς Αἰγύπτου | . . . ] . . . α σου ἐπεξήτησεν τοὺς |. Third century. Heracleus is unknown, unless perhaps he is to be identified with Septimius Heraclitus (A.D. 215); but the fragment may well be of a later date in the third century.
- 1314.** 7 × 9 cm. Ends of 8 lines (written across the fibres), containing the words *quadringento]s octoginta sex tantum*, *υπς*, repeated 8 times, apparently as a writing exercise. The hand is a clear cursive; *u* is sometimes written as a curve linked to the next letter. Fourth or fifth century (?). Broken to the left and along the bottom. On the verso the words *λοιποὶ παραχωρ[ι]* in large upright letters.
- 1315.** 12.3 × 14.5 cm. The Latin alphabet first in capitals, then in minuscule, with Greek equivalents over some of the letters. *F* and *f* both have φ written above them, *h* (= capital and minuscule) is represented by η. *G* is represented as Γ, *g* as κ (corrected to γ?). Written across the fibres. Fifth or sixth century. Incomplete, the ends of lines being lost. On the verso in large rude cursive ] . *asii intēnaiirosa* [.
- 1316.** 6 × 12.9 cm. Beginning of a contract drawn up ἐν ἀγνιᾷ, in which Diogenes son of Sarapion renounced claims against Theon and Zoilus, sons of Theon

(ὁμολογεί . . . μήτ' αὐτὸν τὸν ὁμο[λογοῦντα μ]ηδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐνκαλ[εῖν μηδὲ ἐνκαλέσειν . . .]). Dated in the 3rd year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Καί(σα)ρείου ἐπαγ(ομένων) (day not filled in: A.D. 57). Incomplete. 7 lines.

- 1317.** 5.1 × 8 cm. Beginnings of the first 6 lines of a copy of a contract of loan in protocol form, the lender being Sarapion son of . . . and Heraclous. Dated in the 10th year of the [Emperor] Caesar Domitianus [Augustus Germanicus], 2[.] of Soterius (A.D. 91).
- 1318.** 14.5 × 6.4 cm. Conclusion of a contract for the loan of 5,000 odd drachmae, having the formula κύριον . . . πανταχῆ ἐπιφ[ε]ρόμενον καὶ παν]τὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέρο[ντι, and the singular date (ἔτους) ια (ἔτους) καὶ [ . (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων] ἡμῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μ[αξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] καὶ Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἀνδρειοτά[του Καίσαρος] πρὸ δὲ καλανδῶν Δεκεμ[βρίων, which is followed by the borrower's signature (written for him) . . .] ἔσχον ἐν χ[ρ]ήσι τὰς) τοῦ ἀργ[υρίου] κτλ. There appears to be a mistake in the number of the year, since Diocletian did not abdicate till the 13th year of Galerius, and there was a difference of 12 between the latter's regnal years and those of Maximinus, who is thus necessarily excluded in the 11th year. 13 lines, the ends of which are lost.
- 1319.** 3.7 × 15.3 cm. Strip from the top of a contract containing the date Ὑπατίας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου καὶ Φλ(αοῦ)ν) Ῥουμορίδου τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) Θῶθ θ (A.D. 403). 2 lines, with some vestiges of a third.
- 1320.** 7.3 × 13.1 cm. The first 9 lines of an acknowledgement of a debt incurred in consequence of a purchase of wine, the price of which was not paid, or not fully paid (fictitious loan; cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.* p. 117). The text is [Ὑπατίας τοῦ δε]σπότου ἡμῶν Φλ(αοῦ)ν) Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰωνίου [Ἀγούστ]του τὸ β Φαῶφι κς ἰνδικ(τίονος) ς. [(?) Ἀρήλι]ς Λαμασᾶ[ς?] υἱὸς Πεπιρίου ἀπὸ κόμης [. . . . . τ]οῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου νομοῦ Ἀρήλιω Ἐπιφανίω [υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς] μακαρίας μνήμης Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τῆς λ[αμπ]ρ[ᾶς] Ὁξυρυγίτων πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ὀφείλειν σοι καὶ χρεωστῆν ἀπὸ λόγου τιμῆς οἴνου οὗ ἐώνημαι παρὰ σοῦ καὶ ἐβάσταξα κατὰ τὰ μεταξὺ γενόμενα [γραμματεῖα (?) . . . A.D. 497.
- 1321.** 7.4 × 21 cm. Receipt for rent of the months Pachon—Mesore of the 8th year and Thoth—Tubi of the 9th year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator (formula Διόσκορος Σεραπίωνι χαίρειν. ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ τὸ ἐνοίκιον κτλ.). A.D. 48–9. Nearly complete. 5 lines.
- 1322.** 16 × 4.7 cm. Receipt for 94 dipla of wine. The text is Μηνῆς πρεσβύτερ(ος) Πέτρω βοθη(ῶ). ἔσχον παρὰ Λαμ . . σφονος ἀμπελουρ(γοῦ) ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ἀτηρίου ὑπὲρ τοῦ αἰθ (ἔτους) προσφορᾶς (cf. 1253. 9, P. S. I. 89. 2)

οἴνου διπλᾶ ἐνενήκοντα τέσσαρα, γί(νεται) οἴνου δι(πλᾶ) 98 μ(όνα). Φαῶφι ι ιβ  
 ἰνδ(ικτίονος). A. D. 413. Complete. 11 lines.

**1323.** 21.9 × 7.7 cm. Receipt (ἐντάγιον) issued by Martyrius, σύμ(μαχος?) to Theophilus, vetch-seller (ὄρβοπωλῆς: cf. P. Brit. Mus. 1445. 7, note; in 1037. 4 Δωρᾶτος ὄρβοπωλῆ should be read), for 1 solidus as rent for his shop in the 14th indiction (ὑπὲρ ἐνοικίου τοῦ ὑπὸ σὲ ὄρβοπωλή(ου) (ι corr. from ο)). Sixth century. Nearly complete. 17 short lines.

**1324.** 11 × 9 cm. Receipt from Leucadius to Paulus, ἀμπ(ελοργός), and Miapis for 1 ceramion of wine. Dated in the 17th which = the 16th which = the 9th year (of Diocletian and Maximian, Constantius and Galerius), Mesore (A. D. 301). Practically complete. 8 lines, written apparently on the verso, the recto being blank.

**1325.** 15.1 × 7.7 cm. Receipt for payments of wine. The text is Μαρτύριος ἔσχον παρὰ Ἄνουπ (ανουπ Pap.) ἀμπ(ελοργού) δι(πλᾶ) μγ, καὶ παρὰ Ἰωάννη ἀμπ(ελοργού) δι(πλᾶ) ζ, γί(νεται) ὁμοῦ δι(πλᾶ) ν. Fifth century. Complete. 8 lines. Endorsement on the verso in a different hand.

**1326.** 10.6 × 6.5 cm. Receipt for payment of wine. The text is Ἐντ(ά)γιον ἐμοῦ Φιλοξένω (l. -ου) οἴνοχει(ριστοῦ)· ἔσχον παρὰ Ἀμαεῖου καὶ Παλεοῦτος ἀμπ(ελοργῶν) ἐποικίου Οὐεσώβθεως ἀπὸ λόγου ῥύσεως τρίτης ἰνδικτίονος οἴνου διπλᾶ διακόσια{s} ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε, γί(νεται) δι(πλᾶ) σοε. Fifth or sixth century. Complete. 10 lines.

**1327.** 14.6 × 5.5 cm. Another receipt similar to the preceding from Philoxenus to Hierax, ἀμπ(ελοργός) of the ἐποικίον Μεγάλης Παρορ(ίου) (cf. 154. 12, P. Iand. 51. 8), for 217 dipla ἀπὸ λόγου ῥύσεως τρίτης ἰνδικτίονος, and a subsequent payment of 2 dipla. Fifth or sixth century. Nearly complete. 11 lines.

**1328.** 16 × 9.7 cm. Receipt for an unspecified amount paid on account of two months' (rent?). The text is χμγ. παρέσχεν Πάνος Ἐρμίου ὑπὲρ μηνῶν δύο πρώτης (l. πρώτης) καὶ δευτέρας ἑξαμοίνου (l. ἑξαμήνου) ἐνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος τὰ δοθέντα Παύλῳ ὑπερέτη (l. ὑπηρέτη) καθόλου. Ἡράκλειος συστάτης σεσημῶμαι (l. σεσημῶμαι). Late fourth or fifth century. Complete. 8 lines.

**1329.** 26 × 10 cm. Receipt for 3 solidi on account of dues of barley for the 12th indiction. The text is Κυρίῳ μου γεούχῳ Οὐαλεριανῶ Πέτρος βοηθ(ός). ἔσχον παρὰ τῆς κύρας εἰς λόγον κριθῶν ιγ (ἔτους?) ἰνδικτίονος χρυσῶν νομισμάτων τρία, / νο(μισμάτια) γ, ἐπὶ τῷ με ταῦτά σοι λογίσασθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ σ[ ] ὀνόματος τῆς αὐτῆς ιγ (ἔτους) ἰνδικ(τίονος), (2nd hand) λόγ[ ] γινομέν[ ] ο[ ] υ[ ]. (1st hand) (ἔτους) ος (ἔτους) με (ἔτους) Χο[ ] ια. (2nd hand) Πέτρος βοηθ(ός) συμφ(ωνῶ) χρυ(σοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) τρία μ(όνα). A. D. 399. Practically complete. 10 lines. On the verso a much effaced endorsement.

- 1330.** 5.3 × 15.8 cm. An illiterate receipt for 1 solidus on account of dues. The text is Κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Φανίᾳ Ἀπελωνίου (l. Ἀπολλ.) Ἀφοῦς καὶ Ἡράκλι(ος?) κεφ(αλαιωπαί). παρέσχεν ὑπὲρ λόγου συνταιλίας (l. συντελείας) χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια (l. -ον) ἔν, γί(νεται) νο(μισμάτιον) α, μόνας (l. μόνου), ταῦτα δοθέντα (l. τοῦτο δοθέν) ὑπὲρ λόγου συνταιλίας τῆς δωδεκάτης οἰδικτίουος (l. δωδ. ἰνδ.). ἔγω Ἀφοῦς καὶ Ἡράκλι(ος) σαισιμιε (l. σεσημειώμεθα), Χοιάκ ια. Late fourth or fifth century. Complete. 6 lines, written across the fibres.
- 1331.** 7.4 × 7.1 cm. Fragment of a similar receipt: . . .] ὑπὲρ συντελείας (l. συντελείας) τῆς καιφαλῆς (l. κεφ. = capitation dues) τὰ ἐροῦντάς (l. αἰροῦντά) σοι πρήλης (l. πλήρης) ἐπρηλώθη (l. ἐπληρ.) θ ἰνδικτίουος) δι(ὰ) ἐμοῦ Ἀπολλῶ στωραλχου (l. στολάρχου?), συμφονίμεν (l. συμφωνοῦμεν) ἀποχῆ [ . . . Fifth century. 7 lines.
- 1332.** 7.5 × 4.4 cm. Receipt for 15½ artabae of corn. The text is Ἀβραμ Ἀβελε σίτου ἀρτάβας δεκάπεντε ἕμισ[υ (l. ἥμ.)], σίτου ιεζ. Fifth century (?). Practically complete. 3 lines, written in a large coarse hand.
- 1333.** 13.3 × 6.7 cm. On the recto parts of 12 lines from the bottom of, apparently, an account of γόμ(οι); what remains consists largely of personal names. Late second century. On the verso an order from a gymnasiarch for a payment of 600 dr. on account of θεωρικά. The text is Π(αρά) Πτολεμαίου γυμνασιάρχου. δὸς Κοπρεῦ [λόγ(ω) θεωρικῶν ἄς ἔχω παρὰ σοὶ δραχμ]ὰς ἑξακοσίας, γί(νεται) (δραχμαὶ) χ. (ἔτους) ε Με[σορ]ῆ α. Late second or early third century. Practically complete. 4 lines.
- 1334.** 7.6 × 9.3 cm. Beginnings of 4 lines, written across the fibres, from an order issued by ἡ μήτηρ Εὐτροπία for a payment of ἄχυρον(?) to Abraham. Dated in Thoth of the 93rd which = the 64th year (? l. 94th and 63rd, i. e. A. D. 416).
- 1335.** 4.9 × 15.4 cm. Order for a payment of meat for a *comes*. The text is Ἰωάννης Ξερῆρος (l. -ω) μαγίρ(ω). παράσχου τοῖς παιδ(ίοις) τῷ κόμ(ιτι) Διογένης (l. -ει, or τοῦ κόμ. Διογένους) κρέως λίτρας ἑξ μ(όνας). (ἔτους) ρνη ρκζ Φαμενώθ ιβ ε ἰνδικ(τίουος). σεσημειώμαι κρέως λίτρ(ας) ἑξ μ(όνας). A. D. 482. Complete. 4 lines, written across the fibres.
- 1336.** 5.8 × 9.9 cm. Order from John to Philoxenus for a payment of 60 μυριάδες. The writer was perhaps the same person as in 1335. Fifth century. Complete. 3 lines.
- 1337.** 8.1 × 9.5 cm. Order for a payment of 10 myriads. The text is + Νόννος τῷ τιμ(ιωτάτῳ) Νείλω ελ . . . παράσχου εἰς ἐμὴν χρεῖαν ἀργυρίου μυριάδας δέκα, / (δηναρίων) μ(υριάδες) ι. Ἀθῶρ. (2nd hand?) + Νόννος σεσημ(είωμαι). Fifth century. Complete. 4 lines, written across the fibres.
- 1338.** 5.7 × 14.9. Order for a delivery of dried cheese (?). The text is

Φιλόξενος Λευκάντου Ἀφούς. παράσχον Κοσρηῆς (l. -ῆ) μονάζον(τι) ἰσχνὰ (l. -ῶν: cf. Poll. vi. 48 τὸν δὲ ξηρὸν (sc. τυρὸν) ἰσχνὸν ἔλεγον) λίτρας ἑνδεκα, γί(νονται) λί(τραι) ια. Φαῶφι β. [[ὁμοίως χωιτρὰ (l. χονδρῶν) λίτρας τρία (l. τρεῖς), γί(νονται) λί(τραι) γ.]] Fifth century. Complete. 4 lines, written across the fibres.

**1339.** 8 × 8.1 cm. Account of expenses. The text is *Εἰς ἀποδημίαν Συναροῖ* (l. -ῶ) ὑπ(έρ) τι(μῆς) λαχάνων καὶ ῥῶν (δρ.) τ, ψοῶν (δρ.) σ, ὀρνέον (δρ.) τ, Γελασίωι (δρ.) ω, τῶ ἀντῶ (δρ.) ψ, Χοίακ κγ εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ γεούχου (δρ.) Ἀφ, Ἀμμωνίῳ ὑπηρέτῃ (δρ.) Ἀσ. Third century. 9 lines. Whether the account was continued below l. 9 is uncertain.

**1340.** 6.4 × 12.5 cm. On the recto fragment of an account. Two lines are complete containing the entries *διὰ λόγ(ου) α* (ἔτους) *σπονδῆ(ς)* (δρ.) η, *οἶνον πατηταῖς* (cf. B. G. U. 1039. 4) (δρ.) ις, below which there are slight remains of two more lines. On the verso remains of two narrow columns, apparently lists of names. First century.

**1341.** 10 × 8 cm. Account. The text is *Βρακαρίων ζ* (ἔτους). *δι(ὰ) Πρίσκου* (μονό)χ(ωρον?) *α*, *δι(ὰ) Ἰωάννου* (μονο)χ(ώρου) *Λ*, *δι(ὰ) Διονυσίου* (μονό)χ(ωρον) *α*, *δι(ὰ) Πέτρου* (μονο)χ(ώρου) *Λ*, *στ(ο)ιχιῆ γ*. For (μονό)χ(ωρον), which is written *αχ* without any sign of abbreviation, cf. P. Flor. 143. 9, where *αχ<sup>w</sup>* occurs; possibly, however, ἄχυρον is meant. *βρακαρίων* is presumably masculine (*bracarīus*), not the feminine form found in P. Giessen 90. 6. Fourth century. Complete. 6 lines.

**1342.** 8.7 × 10.2 cm. End of an account of payments from various Oxyrhynchite villages. The text is *κώμ(ης) Μούχεως* [ . . . ] *κώμ(ης) Κεσμούχεως* *ν* *δι(ὰ) Ζωίλου βοθη(σῶ), κώμ(ης) Σενύρεως* *ξζ*, *κώμ(ης) Παλώσεως* *δι(ὰ) Θεοδώρου ν*, *κώμ(ης) Τήεως* *δι(ὰ) Πτολ(εμαίου) ρκε*. Fifth century. 7 lines.

**1343.** 30.5 × 10.8 cm. On the recto a short account, of which the text is *χμγ*. + *κμ[ε]νου, ἀννύσου* (l. ἀννήσ.), *ἀγγί(ον) σα[.].θ[.]*. ( ) *ἐγκατρυ( ) λ νέα, κοῦφα ἀμφοκερνια η, νιτρίν*, each entry having an oblique dash after it. Nearly complete. 7 lines. On the verso an endorsement along the fibres + *[υ]πομνηστικ(όν)* (*υ* inserted above the line) *τρ . . .*, and across the fibres an account in 11 lines, which seem to have been intentionally obliterated. *καὶ ὑπ(έρ) νίτρον* was one of the items. Sixth century.

**1344.** 13.4 × 9.2 cm. Account found rolled up with 1288; for text see introd. to that papyrus. Fourth century. Nearly complete. 6 lines.

**1345.** 6.5 × 10.4 cm. Fragment from the end of a letter, the last few lines of which are nearly complete. Lines 6–10 . . . *οὐκ ἔσχυσα ἐλθεῖν σήμερον. πρώτως ποιῶμεν ψωμία, ἀνέρχομαι δὲ τῇ ἰδ. δ[έ]ξε* (l. -αι) *παρὰ Νειλᾶτος* (δραχμὰς) *κ ἄχρι λ[ά]βω. ἐρρώσθαι εὔχ(ομαι)*. Late second or third century. 10 lines, written across the fibres.



- 1346.** 4·6 × 8·5 cm. Fragment of a letter. The text is ἐν τῇ (?) πόλει γέγναπται καὶ κακῶς ἐγράφη, καὶ ἐὰν χρεῖαν αὐτοῦ ἔχῃς, ἔχε, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, ἄφος (l. -ες) αὐτῷ (l. -τὸ) ἄχρεις ἂν παραγένομαι (l. -ωμαι), ἐπιδὴ ὁ λευκός μου παραδρόμαξ (a kind of garment, apparently unknown) ἄχρηστος [γ]έγωναι (l. γέγονε). ἠγώρακά (l. ἠγορ.) σοι κ[.]ε[.] . . . Second century (?). 8 lines.
- 1347.** 11 × 14·3 cm. Fragment of a letter concerning some land. Lines 2–6 Διοσκουρίδης ὕλας ἤνεγκεν δι' αὐτῶν τεσσαρ[ά]κοντα τρεῖς χερσοθρύτιδος (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* ii. 1224. 3 χερσοθρύια, P. Flor. 64. 22 χέρ(σου) θρυτίτι(δος), B. G. U. 485. 10, C. P. Herm. 39. 4) μὴ σπειρομένης μ[ε]τὰ τὰς δώδεκα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων τελοῦσι καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ταύτης, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ' (ἀλλ' . . . οἶδ' Pap.) ὅπως οἱ ἀπὸ κώμ[ης] Κεσμού(?) χεως θαρροῦντες . . . Third century. 8 lines, with part of another at right angles in the left-hand margin.
- 1348.** 5·6 × 7 cm. Beginning of a letter. The text is Παθερμούθις Θέωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. θαυμάζω ὅτι ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἐμοὶ διαφέρει τὸ πῶγμα (ρ rewritten above the line) τὸ διὰ Εὐδαίμονος λεκθέντα (l. λεχθέν), οὐ γὰρ ἐβοήθησας ἡμῖν ὡς εἰδὼς τὰ [νό]μιμα [. . .] Late third century. 8 lines.
- 1349.** 20·2 × 7·8 cm. Letter of Sarapion. The text is Κυρία μου μητρὶ Γερμανία Σαραπίων χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ ἐξήλθα ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐχθὲς μὴ διαλεχθείς σοι περὶ τῆς κυθ(ρ)ίδος, ἂν ποιήσῃ οὖν λαβοῦσά μου τὰ γράμματα δοῦναι (δ corr.) αὐτῇ[ν] τῇ μητρὶ μου Ἀμαξ[.]ριτι διὰ τὴν ἀδελφήν μου Ἀγίαν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσης. ἐρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι. Addressed on the verso κυρία μου μητρὶ Γερμανία Σαραπίων. Fourth century. Practically complete. 15 lines.
- 1350.** 6·5 × 20 cm. Letter, of which the text is ρ Πρὸ μὲν πάντων πολλὰ προσαγορεύομαι ἅμα καὶ Ἄπα Δόμνη κ[α]ὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἀπὸ μικροῦς (l. -ῶν) ἕως μεγάλων κατὰ τὸ (δ)νομα. Written across the fibres. Addressed on the verso ρ ἐπίδ(ος) τοῖς γλυκυτά(τοις) Ἄπα Δόμνη καὶ . . . . . ous. Fifth or sixth century. Nearly complete. 3 lines in all.



# INDICES

## I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS.

### (a) 1231-4 (SAPPHO and ALCAEUS).

(*Figures in thick type refer to papyri, those in Italic type to fragments, Roman figures to columns; schol. = scholium.*)

- ἄβας** 1233. 10. 3.  
**ἄβρα** 1231. 18. 4. *ἄβραν* 1232. 1. ii. 7; 1233. 2. ii. 8. *ἄβρω*[ 1233. 15. 2.  
**ἀγαῦς** 1231. 10. 10.  
**ἄγγελος** 1232. 1. ii. 3.  
**ἄγι** 1232. 1. ii. 11, 17. *ἄγιτε* 1232. 1. i. 8.  
*ἄγισι* 1232. 1. ii. 5. *ἄγων* 1234. 2. i. 12.  
*ἄγον* 1232. 1. ii. 14. *ἄγετο* 1233. 2. ii. 7.  
**ἄγνα** 1231. 1. ii. 14. *ἄγρον* 1232. 2. 2. *ἄγν*[  
 1233. 23. 3.  
**ἄγχι** 1232. 1. i. 9.  
**ἀδοκῆτω** 1231. 1. ii. 1.  
**ἄδρα** 1231. 50. 4.  
**αἰείδουσαι** 1231. 56. 4. *αἰεσον* 1231. 10. 12.  
**αἰε**]kes 1231. 14. 6.  
**αἰελίω** 1233. 1. ii. 10.  
**αἴταις** 1231. 9. 9.  
**ἀθύρματα** 1232. 1. ii. 9.  
**αἰ** 1233. 1. ii. 18; 1233. 10. 6. *αἰ καὶ* 1234. 3. 12. *αἴ κε* 1234. 1. 9.  
**Αἰακίδαις** 1233. 2. ii. 5.  
**Ἄϊδαο** 1233. 11. 15.  
**αἰθεοὶ** 1232. 1. ii. 18 (*ἡθ.* Pap.).  
**αἰμῶνους** 1232. 1. ii. 14.  
**αἰνώω** (?) 1232. 1. ii. 6.  
**Αἰολίδαις** 1233. 1. ii. 12.  
**αἰρέειν**, ἔλων 1233. 2. ii. 7. ]*ανέλο*[ 1231. 25. 4.  
**αἰσχος** 1234. 6. 5.  
**ἄκαλα** 1232. 1. i. 5.  
**ἄκρας**, κατ' ἄκρ. 1233. 11. 13.  
**ἄκρα** 1233. 4. 9.  
**ἀκράτι**[σμον 1234. 2. ii. 4.
- ἄλγεα** 1231. 12. 7.  
**ἄλει**[φαρ 1233. 3. 14.  
**ἀλεμάτων** 1234. 2. i. 4. *ἀλεμάτ*[ 1231. 16. 5.  
**ἄλιαν** 1233. 3. 6.  
**ἄλ**]ιτρον 1234. 1. 6.  
*Ἄλκαίου* 1234. 2. i. 14-15 schol.  
**ἀλλά** 1231. 1. i. 23, 12. 2, 50. 6, 56. 6;  
 1232. 1. i. 8; 1233. 1. ii. 11, 14, 17;  
 1234. 4. 16.  
**ἄλλας** 1232. 1. ii. 4. *ἄλλων* 1233. 32. 5.  
**ἄλλοτα** 1233. 1. ii. 18.  
**ἄλμυρον** 1232. 1. ii. 7.  
**ἄλώπαξ** 1234. 1. 12.  
**ἄμα** 1232. 1. ii. 15; 1233. 1. ii. 8.  
*ἄμαρτάνειν*, *ἄμβροτε* 1231. 1. i. 1. *ἄμβρ*]ότουτας  
 1234. 6. 5.  
*ἄμάρνγμα* 1231. 1. i. 30.  
**ἄμερα** 1232. 1. i. 9. *ἄμέρα* 1234. 2. ii. 3.  
**ἄμφαφ**[ 1233. 16. 4.  
**ἄμφί** 1231. 1. ii. 16; 1233. 2. ii. 15.  
**ἄμφιβάσκει** 1231. 10. 7.  
**ἄμφιστάται** 1231. 15. 4.  
**ἄν** 1234. 2. i. 9.  
**ἄνά** 1231. 1. i. 34. Cf. ὄν.  
**ἄνάγκα** 1234. 6. 6.  
**ἄν κ' ἐδ**]εξάμαν 1231. 1. ii. 22.  
**ἄναισχυντος** 1234. 1. 5.  
*Ἄνακτορίας* 1231. 1. i. 27.  
*Ἄνδρομάχαν* 1232. 1. ii. 7, iii. 6.  
**ἄνε**]μος 1233. 1. ii. 20.  
**ἄνηρ** 1234. 2. ii. 7. *ἄνδρα* 1231. 1. i. 19;  
 1233. 30. 5. *ἄνδρι* 1231. 1. ii. 26. *ἄν*-

ὄρες 1232. 1. ii. 17, iii. 4; 1234. 2. ii. 11, 4. 11. ἄνδρων 1203. 1. ii. 13. ἄνδρεσι 1233. 8. 8.  
 ἀνθρώποις 1231. 1. i. 34; 1233. 4. 7. ἀνθρώπων 1231. 1. i. 19; 1233. 3. 2. 6. ἀνθρώπ 1231. 17. 7, 53. 2.  
 ἀνίοχοι 1232. 1. ii. 19.  
 ἀνόρουσε 1232. 1. ii. 11.  
 ἀντιδ[ 1231. 14. 9.  
 ἀν]τιον 1231. 14. 3.  
 ἀντ[όμενοι 1231. 1. ii. 10.  
 ἄνω 1232. 1. ii. 3 marg.  
 ἀλλ[λεες 1232. 2. 2.  
 ἀπάλων 1233. 8. 5. ἀπάλαισι 1233. 3. 13.  
 ἀπεοίσας 1231. 1. i. 28 (?).  
 ἀπόγονοι 1234. 2. i. 6 schol.  
 ἀπομερ[ 1234. 6. 8 schol.  
 ἀπορμάθεντες 1231. 1. ii. 8.  
 ἀπύ 1232. 1. ii. 6.  
 ἀπυκέκριται 1233. 1. i. 7.  
 ἀπώλοτο 1233. 2. ii. 15.  
 ἄρα 1232. 2. 5.  
 ἄραμαι 1231. 15. 9. ἄρασθαι 1231. 1. i. 34.  
 ἄράταν 1231. 1. ii. 4.  
 ἀργαλέα 1233. 4. 11.  
 ἀργύρα 1232. 1. ii. 10.  
 ἄρεως 1234. 2. i. 8.  
 ἄριστον 1231. 1. i. 20. ἀρίστας 1233. 2. ii. 11.  
 ἄρματα 1232. 1. ii. 17.  
 ἄς κε 1234. 2. i. 8 (θās κε Pap.).  
 ἄσας 1233. 8. 11.  
 Ἄσσίας 1232. 1. ii. 4.  
 Ἄσκάλωνα 1233. 11. 11.  
 ἀστέρ]οπον 1233. 4. 1.  
 ἀτάσθαλα 1234. 4. 11.  
 ἄτιμα 1231. 9. 14.  
 Ἄτρεϊδαί 1231. 1. ii. 4. Ἄτρεϊδαν 1234. 2. i. 6.  
 Ἄτρεύς 1234. 2. i. 6 schol.  
 αὔ 1232. 1. ii. 9 (?), 16.  
 αὔατιν 1234. 2. i. 12.  
 αὔτικα 1232. 1. ii. 13.  
 αὔτα 1231. 15. 5, 7. αὔταν 1231. 1. i. 23. αὔτο 1233. 17. 4 (?). αὔτοι 1233. 11. 19. αὔτων 1233. 2. ii. 16. αὔτοισιν 1234. 2. i. 5.  
 αὔω 1233. 10. 4, 8.  
 ἄφθιτον 1232. 1. ii. 4.  
 Ἄφρῦδιτι 1233. 12. 7.  
 Ἄχερόντα 1233. 1. ii. 9, 15.

ἄψ 1234. 3. 11.

Βαβύλωνος 1231. 11. 10.  
 βάθν 1231. 5. 3. βαθυ[ 1233. 8. 12.  
 βαισα[ 1231. 2. 6.  
 βάμα 1231. 1. i. 29.  
 βασιλευς 1233. 1. ii. 12. βασιλῆες 1231. 1. ii. 5.  
 βάσμος 1234. 2. i. 4.  
 βόλλομαι 1231. 15. 11. βόλληται 1234. 2. i. 8. βολλοίμαν 1231. 1. i. 29.  
 Βύκχιδος 1234. 3. 10.  
 γᾶν 1231. 1. i. 14. γᾶς 1231. 9. 6.  
 γάμον 1233. 2. ii. 6.  
 γάνος 1231. 9. 2.  
 γάρ 1231. 1. i. 18, 25, 2. 7, 13. 5, 15. 5, 7, 50. 1, 5; 1232. 1. i. 3, 9; 1233. 1. ii. 6, 12, 8. 7; 1234. 2. i. 14-15 schol., ii. 8, 6. 7.  
 γαώθεις 1234. 2. i. 6.  
 γένναται 1233. 2. ii. 13.  
 γεράνοισιν 1233. 2. ii. 18.  
 γηρασ[σ 1233. 16. 3.  
 γῆρας 1231. 10. 6; 1233. 8. 3.  
 γινομένοισιν 1233. 8. 8. γένεσθαι 1231. 1. i. 33.  
 γινώσκοντες 1234. 1. 12.  
 [γλα]κτίαν 1231. 15. 3.  
 γλώσσα 1231. 1. ii. 24.  
 [Γο]γγύλα 1231. 15. 2.  
 γονήων 1234. 2. ii. 12 (corr. to τοκήων).  
 γόνω 1231. 16. 6.  
 γόνν, γόνων 1233. 3. 6.  
 γνία 1233. 13. 3.  
 γύναικες 1232. 1. iii. 3. γυναικῶν 1232. 1. ii. 15. γυν[αικ 1233. 12. 9.  
 δᾶλα[ 1233. 33. 2.  
 δᾶμον 1234. 2. i. 12.  
 δαπτέτω 1234. 2. i. 7.  
 δέκεσθαι 1231. 9. 17.  
 ]δενκες 1233. 5. 5.  
 δεῦρο 1233. 10. 2.  
 δεύτερον 1231. 1. i. 12.  
 δή 1231. 1. ii. 2, 15. 7; 1234. 2. ii. 10.  
 δηῖτε 1231. 15. 3.  
 δίδοισα 1234. 2. i. 13. ἔδωκαν 1234. 1. 9. ἔδοσαν 1233. 32. 5.  
 δινάεντα 1233. 1. ii. 9, 15.

- δῖς 1233. 1. ii. 14 (?).  
 δισχέλιαις 1234. 1. 8.  
 διώκων 1231. 10. 8.  
 δεδοκήμεν . . 1233. 1. i. 13.  
 δοκι 1231. 12. 3.  
 δόλοφν 1231. 10. 3.  
 δόμον 1233. 2. ii. 9.  
 δονεῖν, ἐδόνη[ 1231. 55. 2.  
 δόξαν 1234. 2. ii. 11.  
 δρᾶσιν 1234. 4. 11.  
 δύαις 1234. 2. i. 10.  
 δυναίμεθα 1234. 1. 9. ἐδύνατο 1231. 1. ii. 9.  
 δύνατον 1231. 1. i. 33.  
 δῶμα 1233. 11. 15.  
 Δωρίχα 1231. 1. i. 11.  
 ἔγερρε 1233. 17. 3. ἐγέρρη 1233. 11. 12.  
 ἐγέρθητι 1231. 56. 6.  
 ἔγω 1231. 1. i. 15, 15. 6, 39. 1, 51. 1. με  
 1233. 8. 3. ἐμοί 1233. 1. ii. 8. ἄμμες  
 1231. 13. 3; 1233. 1. ii. 4; 1234. 3. 11.  
 ἄμμε 1234. 2. i. 8. ἄμμι 1231. 10. 12;  
 1233. 11. 17.  
 ἔδαφος 1231. 25. 2.  
 ἔθους 1234. 2. ii. 5 schol.  
 εἰδέναι, οἶδα 1234. 6. 9. ἴδμεν 1231. 1. i.  
 33 (?), 2. 7. ἴσ[θι] 1231. 14. 7.  
 εὐόκοτες 1233. 1. i. 10.  
 εἶπε 1232. 1. ii. 11. εἶπην 1234. 2. i. 2.  
 εἶπη[ 1232. 2. 12.  
 εἰς 1231. 1. i. 12; 1233. 10. 7, 11. 15 (?);  
 1234. 2. i. 12, 14-15 schol. ἐς 1232. 2.  
 3; 1233. 2. ii. 6, 9, 12; 1234. 3. 11.  
 εἰσίδω 1231. 14. 3.  
 εἴσκη 1231. 14. 5.  
 ἐκ (ἐξ) 1231. 1. ii. 1; 1232. 1. ii. 6; 1233.  
 2. ii. 3, 7, 10. 4; 1234. 2. i. 9, ii. 12.  
 ἐκάβολον 1232. 1. ii. 5; 1234. 1. 3.  
 ἐκαστέρω 1233. 1. i. 8.  
 ἐκγεγόνων 1234. 2. ii. 10.  
 ἐκλάθαι 1231. 18. 5.  
 ἐκτελέσαντες 1231. 1. ii. 6.  
 Ἔκτωρ 1231. 1. ii. 5. Ἔκτορα 1232. 1. iii. 6.  
 ἐλάτρη 1233. 2. ii. 14.  
 ἐλέυσσον (v. l. -ξαν) 1232. 1. iii. 3.  
 Ἐλένα 1231. 1. i. 19. Ἐλένα 1231. 14. 5;  
 1233. 2. ii. 15 (?).  
 ἐλεύθεροι 1234. 2. ii. 11.  
 ἐλέφαις 1232. 1. ii. 10.  
 ἐλίγματα 1232. 1. ii. 8.  
 ἐλικώπιδα 1232. 1. ii. 5.  
 ἐλισσομ[ 1233. 1. i. 3.  
 ἔλπεσθαι, ἤλπετο 1234. 1. 14.  
 ἐμαῦτ[ 1231. 23. 1.  
 ἔμματα 1232. 1. ii. 8. ]έμματα 1233. 8. 2.  
 ἔμμεναι 1231. 1. i. 15, ii. 20. ἦ 1233. 8. 9.  
 ἦσθα 1234. 2. i. 14. ἦσκε 1234. 4. 9,  
 12. ζων 1233. 1. ii. 14. ζοντες 1234. 2.  
 ii. 12.  
 ἐμφύλω 1234. 2. i. 11.  
 ἐν 1231. 1. i. 31, 2. 3, 13, 13; 1233. 4. 11,  
 14. 2; 1234. 3. 7. ἐνί 1232. 1. ii. 7.  
 ἐνεργαῖσι 1234. 6. 9 schol.  
 ἐνθα 1234. 2. ii. 5.  
 ἐνίαντον 1233. 2. ii. 12.  
 ἐνεκα 1233. 2. ii. 17.  
 ἐνέποντες 1231. 1. i. 10. ἠρέπην 1231. 1.  
 ii. 23.  
 ἐνομον 1233. 14. 1.  
 ἐνωρσε 1234. 2. i. 12.  
 ἔξαγον 1232. 1. ii. 20.  
 ἔξερ[εν]γόμενος 1233. 3. 10.  
 ἐπάβολα 1231. 10. 2.  
 ἐπεῖ 1234. 2. i. 14-15 schol.  
 ἐπεῖδη 1234. 2. ii. 7.  
 ἐπεικη[ 1231. 9. 14.  
 ἐπευρ[εν] 1231. 1. i. 9.  
 ἐπήρατον 1232. 1. iii. 4; 1234. 2. i. 13.  
 ἐπί 1231. 1. i. 14, 9. 10; 1232. 1. ii. 7; 1233.  
 4. 6; 1234. 2. i. 14 and schol., ii. 3.  
 ἐπιβαίνειν, ἐπέβαινε 1232. 1. ii. 14.  
 ἐπ[ι]βάλλω 1233. 1. ii. 11.  
 ἐπιγαμία 1234. 2. i. 6 schol.  
 ἐπικύδ[ι] 1231. 2. 8.  
 ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, ἐπελάθετο 1234. 2. ii. 6.  
 ἐπίσσανον 1234. 6. 8.  
 ἐπιτεύχεας 1234. 2. i. 8.  
 ἔραι[σαν] 1231. 1. i. 24. ἔραιται 1231. 1. i. 16.  
 ἐρόμενον 1234. 2. i. 14-15 schol.  
 ἔρατον 1231. 1. i. 29.  
 ἔργον 1231. 12. 2. ἔργα 1231. 9. 20. ἔργων  
 1231. 2. 8.  
 ἔριφον 1234. 2. i. 14.  
 ἔρμα 1234. 3. 6.  
 Ἐρμῶνα 1231. 14. 4.  
 ἔρον 1231. 1. i. 12; 1234. 3. 11.  
 ἔρχεσθε 1233. 4. 6. ἦλθον 1233. 2. ii. 19.  
 ἦλθε 1231. 1. i. 12; 1232. 1. ii. 2, 12. ἔλθετε  
 1233. 5. 11. ἔλθην 1234. 1. 10.  
 ἔρωτος 1231. 14. 1.

ἔσλα 1231. 9. 4. ἔσλον 1233. 11. 14; 1234.  
 1. 11. ἔσλων 1234. 2. ii. 12. ἔσλ[ 1231.  
 2. 4.  
 ἔτι 1234. 6. 7. ]ετι 1233. 13. 3.  
 εὖ 1231. 51. 3.  
 εὐέδρων 1233. 4. 9.  
 εὐκ[αμπτον 1231. 1. i. 25.  
 εὐλύραν 1232. 1. iii. 5.  
 εὐμαρες 1231. 1. i. 17. εὐμάρεα 1234. 1. 13.  
 εὐρε[ 1234. 6. 3.  
 εὐρηαν 1233. 4. 5.  
 εὐρύχορον 1232. 1. ii. 12.  
 εὔτε 1233. 8. 3.  
 εὐτρόχοις 1232. 1. ii. 13.  
 εὐωχήμενος 1234. 2. i. 5.  
 εὐ[ωχίαν 1234. 2. i. 14-15 schol.  
 ἔχην 1233. 1. ii. 16. ἔχης 1234. 2. ii. 10.  
 ἔχιοεν 1231. 50. 8. ἔχων 1233. 2. ii. 19.  
 ἔχοισαν 1231. 2. 4. σχών 1234. 2. i. 6  
 schol.  
 ζάβαις 1233. 1. ii. 10.  
 ζακρούεντος 1233. 4. 8.  
 ζαλαίαν 1233. 3. 10.  
 ζάλεξαι 1231. 50. 3.  
 ζαφ[ 1231. 55. 6.  
 Ζεῦ 1234. 1. 7 (?). Δία 1231. 1. ii. 10. Δίος  
 1233. 4. 2, 8. 10.  
 ζώμμα 1233. 2. ii. 10.  
 ἦ 1231. 1. i. 31.  
 ἦδέ 1233. 4. 2.  
 ἦδη 1231. 10. 6, 14. 1; 1233. 17. 1.  
 ἦπερ 1231. 56. 8.  
 Ηρα 1231. 1. ii. 3.  
 ]ηρατα 1233. 7. 1.  
 θαλαμ[ 1231. 18. 7.  
 θάλασσαν 1233. 3. 9, 4. 5, 11. 6.  
 θαμέω[ν 1231. 16. 1. θαμέως 1234. 2. ii. 5.  
 θανάτω 1233. 4. 7.  
 θελγονται 1233. 3. 14.  
 θέλω 1231. 16. 9. θέλωσι 1233. 1. ii. 7.  
 θέ[μις 1231. 14. 7.  
 θεοῖκελο[ις 1232. 1. iii. 6.  
 θέοις 1232. 2. 1. θέοισιν 1233. 1. ii. 7. θεοί[  
 1231. 51. 5.  
 Θήβας 1232. 1. ii. 6.  
 θνάταις 1231. 14. 7.  
 θρίξ, τρίχ[ 1233. 8. 10.

θρώσκοιτες 1233. 4. 9.  
 θύγατρεις 1232. 1. ii. 16.  
 θυμοβόρω 1234. 2. i. 10.  
 θύμω 1233. 4. 3. θυμ[ 1233. 12. 2.  
 θύοισιν 1231. 2. 3.  
 Θυνάνας 1231. 1. ii. 11.  
 ἰάρας 1232. 1. ii. 6. ἴραν 1233. 2. i. 26,  
 ii. 4, 10. 7; 1234. 1. 9. ἴρας 1233. 11. 10.  
 ἴαχον 1232. 1. iii. 4.  
 ἰγ[ύνας 1231. 18. 3.  
 ἴδαος 1232. 1. ii. 3.  
 ἴδην 1231. 1. i. 30. ἴδωμεν 1231. 56. 9.  
 ἴδοισαν 1231. 15. 6.  
 ἴκελοι 1232. 2. 1.  
 ἴκετευ[ 1233. 9. 8.  
 Ἰλιάδαι 1232. 1. ii. 13.  
 Ἰλιον 1232. 2. 3; 1233. 2. ii. 4.  
 ἰμ[ερόεντα 1231. 1. ii. 11.  
 ἰμέρρην 1234. 3. 5.  
 ἰοκόλπω 1231. 56. 5.  
 ἰππήων 1231. 1. i. 13.  
 ἵπποις 1232. 1. ii. 17. ἵππων 1233. 4. 6.  
 ἵππο[ 1233. 6. 2.  
 [ἵππομ]άχοντας 1231. 1. i. 32.  
 ἴφθ[ιμοι 1233. 4. 2.  
 καί, κἀλέφαις 1232. 1. ii. 10. κἀλλοτα 1233.  
 1. ii. 18. κἀμάρνγμα 1231. 1. i. 30. κἀμ-  
 ματα 1232. 1. ii. 8. κἀν 1231. 1. i. 31.  
 κἀνδρι 1231. 1. ii. 26. κἀνδρομάχαν 1232.  
 1. iii. 6. κἀννομον 1233. 14. 1. κἀπί 1231.  
 9. 10; 1234. 2. i. 14. κ[ἀπικύδ] 1231. 2.  
 11. κᾶσλον 1233. 11. 14. καῖω 1233.  
 10. 8. καί γάρ 1231. 15. 7, 50. 1; 1233.  
 1. ii. 12.  
 κακοπάτριδα 1234. 6. 12.  
 κάκω 1233. 3. 4. κάκα 1233. 32. 4. κάκων  
 1233. 2. ii. 1.  
 κἀλην 1234. 2. i. 14. ἐκἀλη 1233. 3. 5.  
 κἀλλιστος 1231. 1. i. 15.  
 κἀλλος 1231. 1. i. 19 (?).  
 κάλος 1232. 1. i. 4. κἀλαν 1231. 15. 5. κἀλα  
 1231. 13. 5 (?); 1232. 1. ii. 9.  
 ]εκαλυπ[τ . . . 1233. 16. 1.  
 κἀματος 1232. 1. i. 6.  
 κἀρι 1233. 1. ii. 14.  
 κἀρυξ 1232. 1. ii. 2.  
 κασία 1232. 1. iii. 2.  
 Κάιστορ 1233. 4. 3.

- κατά 1232. 1. ii. 12; 1233. 4. 5, 11. 13. κάτ  
1231. 1. ii. 13.  
καταβάσομεν 1233. 1. ii. 18.  
κατάγει 1233. 11. 9.  
κατάγωγισ 1231. 15. 5.  
καταλάμψεται 1233. 1. i. 9.  
κατισδάνει 1232. 1. i. 7.  
[κάτ]ω 1233. 1. ii. 16.  
καυχάσαντο 1231. 1. i. 10.  
κε 1231. 1. i. 29 (τε Pap.), ii. 22, 14. 8; 1233.  
1. ii. 7, 2. ii. 17; 1234. 1. 9, 2. i. 8, 4. 12.  
κελομαι 1231. 15. 1.  
κῆνος 1234. 2. i. 6, ii. 6. κῆνα 1234. 3. 7.  
κῆνο 1231. 1. i. 15. κῆνω 1234. 1. 4.  
κῆταρις 1233. 12. 3.  
κλέος 1232. 1. ii. 4.  
κλόνει 1232. 1. i. 5.  
κόθαραν 1233. 1. ii. 10.  
κορυφάν 1233. 12. 6.  
κοσ[ 1233. 10. 1.  
κούφως 1231. 1. i. 26.  
κρέτησαι 1231. 9. 5.  
Κρονίδαις 1233. 1. ii. 16.  
κρ[υ]νέντα 1233. 11. 12.  
κύδος 1234. 2. i. 13.  
κύματι 1234. 3. 3.  
[Κύ]πρι 1231. 1. i. 9.  
Κυπρογένηα 1231. 15. 8.  
Κυπρο . [ 1232. 1. ii. 1. Κυπρ[ 1231. 35. 3.  
[λά]βρωσ 1234. 2. ii. 2.  
λαγχάνειν, λάχοισα 1233. 12. 5.  
λαίλαπος 1233. 7. 3.  
λαΐφος 1233. 13. 4.  
λαμβάνειν, λάβοισα 1231. 10. 11, 15. 2.  
λάμπρον 1231. 1. i. 30. λάμπροι 1233. 4. 10.  
λανθάνειν, λάσην 1234. 1. 14. λαθοίμεθα 1234.  
2. i. 9. λάθεσθαι 1233. 8. 4. λελάθων  
1234. 3. 8.  
λέγει 1234. 2. i. 14-15 schol. λέγεται 1231.  
37. 2.  
λείπειν, λίποντες 1233. 4. 1.  
λεπτοφών[ 1231. 22. 2.  
Λήδας 1233. 4. 2.  
λίβανος 1232. 1. iii. 2.  
λόγος 1233. 2. ii. 1.  
λύαις 1233. 1. i. 11.  
Δύδοι 1234. 1. 7. Δύδων 1231. 1. i. 31.  
λύεσθε 1233. 4. 7 (v. l. ρύεσθε). ἔλ[υσε 1233.  
2. ii. 9.  
λῶπος 1233. 13. 2.  
μάκαρος 1233. 6. 3. μάκαιρα 1231. 1. i. 1, 20.  
5. μάκαρας 1233. 2. ii. 6.  
μάλιστα 1231. 10. 14, 30. 1; 1234. 3. 2.  
μᾶνω 1233. 3. 7.  
μάτ . . . 1233. 9. 6.  
μάχας 1234. 2. i. 11.  
μάχεσθαι 1234. 3. 4.  
μέγα 1234. 4. 10. μεγάλαις 1231. 9. 9. με-  
γάλων 1233. 1. ii. 11.  
μεγάλωστι 1232. 1. ii. 18 (?).  
μείρεσθαι, ἐμμόρμενον 1233. 8. 7.  
μειχ[ 1233. 5. 7. [μ]είχρυντες (?) 1234. 3. 13.  
μελάθροισιν 1233. 14. 2.  
Μελάνιππε 1233. 1. ii. 8.  
μέλας, μέλανα 1231. 1. i. 14. μελαίνας 1231.  
9. 6; 1233. 1. ii. 17. μελαίνα 1233. 4. 12.  
μέλιτι 1231. 24. 3.  
μελών 1231. 56. 10 (title); 1232. 1. iii. 8  
(title).  
μέμφεται 1231. 15. 7.  
μέν 1231. 1. i. 3, ii. 7, 13. 5; 1233. 1. i. 4, 2.  
ii. 23; 1234. 1. 7, 2. i. 12, 14, 3. 7.  
μένω[ 1233. 10. 9. μενοισα[ 1231. 2. 2.  
μερίμων 1231. 14. 8.  
μέσδον 1231. 1. ii. 27.  
μετά 1234. 2. i. 7 schol., 14-15 schol.  
μέτρια 1231. 5. 2.  
μή 1231. 12. 6; 1233. 1. ii. 11, 17, 2. ii. 21;  
1233. 32. 6.  
μήδε 1233. 2. ii. 22.  
μήρων 1233. 3. 13.  
μηνύομαι, ἐμίνυ[το 1232. 2. 4. μέμικται 1234.  
4. 15.  
μιμνήσκεσθαι, μνάσεσθε 1231. 13. 2. ἐμνάσθη  
1231. 1. i. 23. μέμναιμαι 1234. 6. 7.  
μοῖραν 1233. 8. 10.  
μόχθον 1233. 1. ii. 16.  
μυθολογ[ 1231. 1. ii. 25.  
Μυρσίλω 1234. 2. i. 7. Μυρσίλου 1234. 2.  
i. 7 schol.  
Νά[ιδα 1233. 3. 5.  
]νανάθη 1231. 12. 5.  
νάϊ 1233. 4. 22. νάων 1231. 1. i. 14; 1233.  
4. 9. ναῦσιν 1232. 1. ii. 7.  
ναῦται 1231. 9. 8.  
νεότατι 1231. 13. 3.  
Νηρείδων 1233. 2. ii. 11.

- Νήρηος 1233. 2. ii. 7.  
 νιψοῦ[ 1231. 23. 2.  
 νοεῖν, νόμην 1233. 2. ii. 17. ν]οήση 1231. 1.  
 i. 26. νοισαι[ 1231. 21. 3. νόησθαι 1233.  
 11. 16. νοησάμενος 1233. 1. ii. 13.  
 νομίσεται 1234. 2. i. 15 and schol.  
 νόμος 1234. 2. ii. 5.  
 νύμφας 1231. 56. 4. νυμφ[ 1233. 9. 7.  
 νῦν 1231. 1. i. 27, ii. 12, 17. 3, 18. 7; 1234.  
 6. 11.  
 νύξ, νύκτι 1233. 4. 11; 1234. 2. ii. 4. νύκτας  
 1234. 2. ii. 18. νυκτ[ 1231. 56. 1.  
 ξάνθα 1231. 14. 5. ξάνθαν 1233. 2. ii. 14.  
 ξένοις 1234. 2. i. 14-15 schol.  
 ὁ (dem.) 1234. 6. 11. τάν 1234. 3. 11. ὁ δέ  
 1234. 1. 12, 2. i. 2. ἄ δέ 1233. 3. 6. τῷ  
 δέ 1234. 3. 11. οἱ δέ 1233. 2. ii. 15.  
 τῶν δέ 1233. 1. ii. 19. οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ  
 1231. 1. i. 13-14.  
 ὁ (rel.), τάν 1234. 2. i. 11. τῆς 1231. 1. i.  
 29, 15. 9.  
 ὁ (art.), ὠναίσχυντος 1234. 1. 5. ὠνηρ 1234.  
 2. ii. 7.  
 ὅδε, τόδε 1231. 1. i. 10, 2. 12, 14. 7, 15. 7;  
 τῶδε 1234. 2. i. 9. τάδε 1232. 1. ii. 3:  
 1234. 2. i. 2.  
 οἶαν 1234. 2. ii. 11.  
 ἔλβιον 1233. 2. ii. 14.  
 ἔλιγον 1233. 8. 6.  
 ἔλλύναι, ἔλεσσειν 1231. 1. i. 21.  
 Ὀλυμπίων 1234. 2. i. 11.  
 ὄμβρω 1234. 3. 4.  
 ὀνεδέχυντο 1232. 1. iii. 2.  
 ὀνειδέσειν 1233. 1. i. 6.  
 ὀνεκτον 1234. 4. 9, 12.  
 ὀνεκαλέοντες 1232. 1. iii. 5.  
 ὀνεμνάσθην 1231. 1. i. 27 (?).  
 ὀννώριε 1234. 2. ii. 8.  
 ὀνωρθώθημεν 1234. 4. 14.  
 ὀντροπήν, ὀνέτροπε 1234. 2. ii. 7.  
 ὀπλοισιν 1231. 1. i. 31.  
 ὀπποσε 1233. 33. 6.  
 ὀρᾶν, ὄψεσθαι 1233. 1. ii. 11.  
 ὄρθιον 1232. 1. iii. 4.  
 ὄρμοισι 1231. 19. 2.  
 ὄρ[ 1233. 8. 7.  
 ὄς, οἶ 1233. 4. 5.  
 ὄσαι 1232. 1. iii. 3. ὄσσον 1231. 56. 8.  
 ὄτα 1233. 1. ii. 9.  
 ὄτραλέως 1232. 1. ii. 11.  
 ὄττι 1234. 3. 2. ὄττω 1231. 1. i. 15. ὄττινα  
 1233. 1. ii. 19. ὄ[σσα 1231. 13. 2.  
 οἰ(κ) 1231. 1. i. 33, ii. 9, 2. 7, 16. 7; 1233.  
 2. ii. 5; 1234. 1. 11, 2. ii. 6.  
 οὔδαμα 1234. 1. 11.  
 οὔδέ 1231. 1. i. 22; 1233. 8. 10; 1234.  
 1. 12.  
 οὔδέν 1234. 1. 11, 3. 5, 4. 12. οὔδέν[ 1233.  
 1. ii. 3.  
 οὔτος, τοῦτο 1231. 1. i. 18, 15. 10, 16. 10, 50.  
 6; 1233. 8. 2; 1234. 2. i. 15 and schol.  
 τοῦτο[ν 1234. 6. 9 schol. του[τ 1231. 35.  
 4. ταῦτα 1233. 11. 18. ταυτα[ 1231. 52.  
 5. τοῦτων 1234. 2. ii. 6, 3. 8. τοῦτοις  
 1234. 3. 7.  
 οὔτω 1234. 2. i. 15 and schol.  
 ὄχθοις 1231. 14. 11.  
 ὄχλος 1232. 1. ii. 14.  
 πᾶ 1234. 4. 16.  
 πάγχυ 1231. 1. i. 17.  
 πάθην 1231. 16. 10; 1233. 1. ii. 19. πάθοντες  
 1234. 1. 11.  
 παῖς 1234. 6. 7. παῖδα 1233. 2. ii. 13. παῖδος  
 1231. 1. i. 22. παῖσι 1233. 2. ii. 2.  
 παῖς 1232. 1. ii. 14. πάντα 1233. 11. 18.  
 πᾶν 1234. 3. 1. παῖσαν 1233. 4. 6. πάντι  
 1231. 1. i. 18. πάντες 1232. 1. ii. 18,  
 iii. 4. πάντας 1233. 2. ii. 6. παῖσας 1234.  
 2. ii. 8. πάντων 1231. 16. 3. παῖσαν  
 1231. 14. 8. παισ[ 1231. 17. 9.  
 παίωνα 1232. 1. iii. 5 (πάονα Pap.).  
 πάκτιδι 1233. 1. i. 5.  
 παλαμ[ 1233. 33. 5.  
 παννυχίσδην 1231. 14. 13. παννυχίσδομεν  
 1231. 56. 3.  
 παππ[ 1231. 17. 5.  
 παρά 1233. 8. 10.  
 παράγωγε 1231. 1. i. 23.  
 παρασκευάσματα 1234. 2. i. 14-15 schol.  
 παρθένικαι 1233. 3. 12. παρθενικάν 1232. 1.  
 ii. 15.  
 πάρθενον 1233. 2. ii. 8. παρθένω 1233. 2. ii.  
 10. πάρθενοι 1231. 56. 2; 1232. 2. 5 (?).  
 παρθένους 1231. 50. 7. παρθεν[ 1231. 1  
 ii. 15.  
 παροιμία 1234. 2. i. 14-15 schol.  
 παρποτ[ 1233. 5. 6.



παρφασι[ 1233. 8. 1.  
 πατάγασκε 1234. 2. ii. 9.  
 πάτηρ 1232. 1. ii. 11. πάτερ 1234. 1. 3, 4, 7.  
 πεδά 1233. 32. 5; 1234. 2. i. 4, 7, 3. 10.  
 πεδέτρ[απε 1234. 6. 11.  
 πεδέχην 1231. 1. i. 34. πεδέχω 1234. 2. i. 3.  
 πέμπε 1231. 51. 5. πέμπω[ 1233. 5. 3.  
 Πενθίλλος 1234. 6. 10.  
 πεπλ[ 1231. 19. 1.  
 Περάμιο 1232. 1. ii. 16. Περράμω 1233. 2.  
 ii. 2.  
 περᾶν, ἐπέραισε 1233. 1. ii. 15.  
 περί 1234. 6. 9 schol.  
 περσκόπεισα 1231. 1. i. 18.  
 πέσδων 1231. 1. i. 13.  
 πέταται 1231. 10. 8.  
 Πήλος 1233. 2. ii. 11.  
 πίθει[ς 1233. 2. ii. 20.  
 πίθω 1234. 2. ii. 9.  
 πίκρον 1233. 2. ii. 3.  
 πι[κροτέρ]αν 1231. 1. i. 9.  
 πίμπλειςιν 1234. 2. ii. 3.  
 Πλακίας 1232. 1. ii. 6.  
 πλάναται 1231. 10. 15.  
 πλάσιον 1231. 1. ii. 2.  
 πλάφλασμοι (?) 1234. 2. ii. 4.  
 πλέην 1233. 10. 5. πλέοιμ[ 1231. 9. 12.  
 πλείστα 1233. 1. ii. 13.  
 πλόησειν, πλόησεια 1234. 3. 3.  
 πόησαι 1231. 1. i. 17. ἐπόημεν 1231. 13. 4.  
 πόθειων 1231. 1. i. 11.  
 πόθος 1231. 15. 3.  
 ]ποιάς 1233. 5. 9.  
 ποικίλις 1233. 14. 3. ποίκιλα 1232. 1. ii. 9.  
 ποικιλόφρων 1234. 1. 13.  
 πολιάταν 1233. 8. 6, 22. 3.  
 πόλις 1233. 2. ii. 16. πόλιν 1234. 1. 10, 2.  
 i. 7, 4. 1. πολί[ 1231. 13. 6. πόληος 1233.  
 12. 6. πτόλιν 1232. 1. ii. 12.  
 πόλλakis 1234. 4. 13.  
 Πολύδευκες 1233. 4. 4.  
 πολύδρις 1233. 1. ii. 14.  
 πόλυ 1231. 1. i. 18. πόλλαι 1233. 3. 12.  
 πώλλ... 1231. 9. 16.  
 πώλω[ 1233. 33. 7.  
 πόντων 1232. 1. ii. 8.  
 πορφυρίαν 1233. 3. 9. πορφύρα 1232. 1. ii. 9.  
 ποτά 1233. 1. ii. 18; 1234. 4. 10, 13.  
 ποτάμων 1233. 3. 8.  
 πόντια 1231. 1. ii. 3, 11. 3.

πρίν 1231. ii. 10.  
 προγενέστερα 1232. 1. iii. 3.  
 προλέξαις 1234. 1. 13.  
 πρόσθε 1231. 3. 1.  
 προστετο[ 1231. 28. 1.  
 προσώπω 1231. 1. i. 30.  
 προτο[ 1233. 4. 10.  
 προφάνητε 1233. 4. 3.  
 προ . εδίδχμενον 1234. 6. 4.  
 πρώην 1234. 2. i. 7 schol.  
 πρωταλία (?) 1233. 2. ii. 20.  
 πρώτον 1234. 2. ii. 7. πρώτα 1231. 1. ii. 7.  
 προείν, ἐπτόαισε 1231. 15. 6.  
 πτόλιν 1232. 1. ii. 12.  
 πύθμην 1234. 2. ii. 9.  
 πύκναισι 1233. 8. 9.  
 πυρ[ 1231. 30. 2.  
 πώ 1234. 1. 11.  
 πωνόντων 1233. 32. 4.  
 ῥέθος 1231. 12. 3.  
 ῥείν, ῥέοντι 1231. 9. 16.  
 ῥῆα 1233. 4. 7.  
 ῥύεσθε 1233. 4. 7 (v. l. λύεσθε).  
 σοο .[ 1234. 3. 2.  
 σατίνας 1232. 1. ii. 13.  
 Σαφούς 1232. 1. iii. 7 (title).  
 σέβας 1231. 1. i. 21.  
 σεσευ[ 1231. 32. 1. 2.  
 Σίσυφος 1233. 1. ii. 12.  
 σκοπούμενοι 1234. 1. 8 schol.  
 σμίκρος 1234. 6. 8. σμικρο[ 1233. 24. 2.  
 σός, σά 1231. 1. ii. 3. σάν 1231. 55. 4. σα  
 1231. 14. 7. σοίς 1231. 56. 7.  
 σόφος 1233. 8. 9.  
 σπουδῆς 1234. 2. i. 14-15 schol.  
 στά[τηρας 1234. 1. 8.  
 στείχομεν 1231. 50. 5. στείχε 1231. 56. 7.  
 στεφανύματα 1233. 11. 17.  
 στρότον 1231. 1. i. 13.  
 σύ 1231. 50. 6; 1234. 2. ii. 10. σέ 1231. 1.  
 i. 9, ii. 10, 14. 3, 5, 15. 3, 16. 9; 1233. 8.  
 5; 1234. 2. i. 14-15 schol. σέθεν 1233.  
 2. ii. 3. ἔμμι 1234. 3. 9.  
 συλλέγην 1233. 1. i. 12.  
 συμποσίων 1234. 2. i. 3.  
 σύν 1231. 9. 4; 1233. 2. ii. 18; 1234. 2. ii.  
 4 schol., 3. 9.  
 σύναχθεν 1234. 2. ii. 4.

συνέταιροι 1232. 1. ii. 5.  
 σύνετον 1231. 1. i. 17.  
 συν]ήγοροι 1234. 2. ii. 6 schol.  
 συνθέμενοι 1233. 1. i. 11.  
 συνσσει[ 1234. 2. ii. 2.  
 σφάλλειν, ἐσφάλη[με]ν 1234. 4. 13.  
 σφ[ 1233. 8. 6.

τανυσφύρων 1232. 1. ii. 15.  
 τ]άχιστα 1231. 51. 4.  
 τάχως 1232. 1. ii. 3.  
 τε 1231. 1. i. 29, 12. 2; 1232. 1. ii. 4, 6, 9,  
 10, 15, iii. 2; 1233. 11. 14; 1234. 2. i.  
 11, 3. 9.  
 τέκος 1233. 3. 7.  
 τέ]μενος 1233. 12. 5.  
 τέρπεσθαι 1234. 3. 9.  
 τῆλε 1231. 1. i. 27 (?).  
 τῆλοθεν 1233. 4. 10.  
 τί 1233. 1. ii. 8.  
 τις 1231. 1. i. 6; 1234. 2. i. 11, 3. 12. τι  
 1234. 4. 16. τινά 1233. 1. i. 8. τ]νες  
 1231. 50. 2.  
 τοαύταν (τεαυτ.) 1231. 14. 4; 1233. 2. ii. 5.  
 τοαύτας 1234. 2. ii. 10. τόαυτα 1233. 1. ii.  
 2, 2. ii. 21.  
 τόθεν 1233. 3. 14 (?).  
 τοκήων 1231. 1. i. 22; 1234. 2. ii. 12 (γονήων  
 H. 1).  
 τόλμαν 1231. 17. 6.  
 τόφρα 1233. 3. 4.  
 Τροίας 1231. 1. i. 21.  
 τρομέροις 1231. 10. 4.  
 τρόνα 1232. 1. ii. 9 (?).  
 τρόπην 1234. 2. i. 9.  
 τύιδε 1231. 1. ii. 8.  
 τυπτομένα 1234. 3. 6.  
 τυραννεί[ 1234. 6. 13.  
 τυράννοις 1233. 5. 8.  
 τύχα 1231. 3. 3, 9. 4.

ἔβριον 1234. 4. 10.  
 ἔδωρ 1233. 3. 15.  
 ἔμνην 1232. 1. iii. 6. ἔμν[ 1233. 8. 5.  
 ]υδιδῆος 1233. 13. 5.  
 ὑπά 1232. 1. ii. 13, 17; 1233. 1. ii. 14. ὑπό  
 1234. 1. 7 schol.  
 ἔπαγον 1232. 1. ii. 17.

ὑπίσω 1231. 2. 10.  
 ὑπνον 1231. 56. 9.

φάμα 1232. 1. i. 12.  
 φάμαι, φαῖσι 1231. 1. i. 14; 1234. 3. 5.  
 φαῖσθε 1233. 32. 7; ἔφα 1233. 1. ii. 12 (?).  
 ἔφη 1234. 2. ii. 4 schol.  
 φάος 1233. 1. ii. 10; 1233. 4. 11.  
 φέρην 1233. 1. ii. 5. φέροντες 1233. 4. 11.  
 φέροιτο 1233. 11. 8. φέρεσθαι 1233. 8.  
 12, 11. 7.  
 φίλος 1234. 2. i. 14; 1232. 1. ii. 11. φ[ίλε  
 1234. 3. 8. φίλαι 1232. 1. i. 8. φίλων  
 1231. 1. i. 22. φίλοις 1232. 1. ii. 12.  
 φιλό[τας 1233. 2. ii. 10.  
 φιλώνων (= φηλ.?) 1234. 2. i. 4.  
 Φιτάκω 1234. 2. i. 13.  
 φόρτιον 1234. 3. 1. φόρτια 1231. 9. 13.  
 φρένας 1232. 1. i. 6. φρέσι 1233. 8. 9.

χαίρω 1231. 15. 6.  
 χαλάσσομεν 1234. 2. i. 10.  
 χαρισσα[ 1231. 50. 4.  
 χε]ίματι 1234. 3. 4.  
 χείμω[ν 1231. 12. 6.  
 χέρσι 1233. 3. 13.  
 Χέρρωνος 1233. 2. ii. 9.  
 χέρσω 1231. 9. 10. χέρσω[.] 1231. 9. 21.  
 χθόνα 1233. 4. 5 (?). χθόνος 1233. 1. ii. 17.  
 χθό[ν 1231. 26. 2.  
 χλαῖναν 1233. 2. ii. 19.  
 χοῖρον 1234. 2. i. 15 and schol.  
 χόλω 1234. 2. i. 9.  
 χορείαις 1231. 13. 7.  
 χρήματα 1233. 1. i. 12.  
 χροά 1231. 10. 6.  
 χρύσια 1232. 1. ii. 8.  
 χῶρις 1232. 1. ii. 16.

ῶ 1232. 1. i. 8; 1234. 3. 8.

ῶδε 1233. 2. ii. 21.

ῶκυπόδων 1233. 4. 6.

ῶν 1233. 1. ii. 8.

ὡς 1231. 1. i. 11, 36. 2; 1233. 1. ii. 7, 2. ii.  
 1; 1234. 1. 12, 2. i. 7. ὡς 1234. 2. i. 7  
 schol.

ὡς 1232. 1. i. 8.

ὡστε 1234. 2. i. 14-15 schol.

## (b) OTHER TEXTS.

*(Figures in Italic type refer to fragments.)*

- ἀγαματοποιός 1241. i. 1.  
 ἀγανακτεῖν 1224. 2. verso ii. 3.  
 ἀγαπᾶν 1235. 91.  
 ἀγαπητός 1235. 44.  
 Ἀγῆνωρ 1241. ii. 30.  
 ἄγριος 1241. v. 9.  
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι 1241. iii. 32.  
 ἀδελφή 1235. 117; 1241. iv. 9.  
 ἀδελφός 1235. 65; 1241. iv. 5, v. 18.  
 Ἀζάν 1241. iii. 33.  
 Ἀθηναῖος 1235. 112; 1241. i. 2, ii. 35.  
 Ἀθηνόδωρος 1242. 9. Κλαύδιος Ἀθ. 1242. 71.  
 ἄθλον 1241. iii. 33.  
 ἀθυμεῖν 1224. 2. recto ii. 3.  
 Αἰακός 1241. vi. 25.  
 Αἰγύπτιοι 1241. iv. 33.  
 Αἰτωλός 1241. iii. 30.  
 αἰφνίδιον 1242. 52.  
 αἰχμαλωτίζειν 1241. iii. 10.  
 ἀκμάζειν 1241. ii. 18.  
 ἀκούειν 1224. 2. verso ii. 5; 1242. 26.  
 Ἀκρίσιος 1241. v. 16, 19.  
 Ἀλεξανδρεῖς 1241. ii. 1, 9, 12. Ἀλεξανδρεῖς  
 1242. 10, 18, 24, 27, 33.  
 ἀλήθεια 1235. 48, 70.  
 ἀλλά 1224. 2. recto ii. 4; 1239. 1; 1241.  
 iii. 9, v. 19; 1242. 35, 37, 42.  
 ἀλλήλων 1235. 114.  
 ἄλλος 1241. iv. 19, 33, v. 18.  
 Ἀλωεύς 1241. iv. 22.  
 ἄμα 1235. 75, 119.  
 ἀμαρτωλός 1224. 2. verso ii. 3.  
 Ἀμεινίας 1241. vi. 26.  
 ἀμῆν 1224. 1. recto 2.  
 Ἀμμώνιος 1241. ii. 18.  
 Ἀμφιτύρων 1241. ii. 34.  
 ἀμφότερος 1242. 25.  
 ἀνά 1224. 2. verso ii. 4.  
 ἀνάγειν 1242. 16.  
 ἀναιρεῖσθαι 1241. iii. 24.  
 ἀνάξιος 1242. 73.  
 ἀνασφάλλειν 1235. 43.  
 ἀνδριαντοποιός 1241. i. 3 (?).  
 ἀνὴρ 1235. 39; 1238. 7.  
 ἀνθρωπος 1238. 6 (?); 1241. iv. 17, 34 (?).
- ἀνόσιος 1242. 43, 49.  
 ἀντίδικος 1224. 2. recto i. 6.  
 Ἀντιοχεύς 1242. 15.  
 ἄνωθεν 1241. ii. 12.  
 ἄξιος 1242. 35.  
 ἀξιούν 1235. 47.  
 ἀπαντᾶν 1242. 26, 34.  
 ἀπειεῖν 1224. 2. verso i. 2.  
 Ἀπελλῆς 1241. ii. 7.  
 Ἀπῆς 1241. ii. 25, iii. 31.  
 ἀπό 1241. ii. 23.  
 ἀποβαίνειν 1237. 1. i. 2 (l. ἀποφ.?).  
 ἀποδεικνύειν 1242. 7.  
 ἀποδιδόναι 1241. iii. 12.  
 ἀποθανύμαζεν 1242. 53.  
 ἀποκρίνεσθαι 1224. 2. verso i. 1, 5; 1242.  
 41, 44, 45.  
 ἀποκτείνειν 1241. iii. 31, 36, iv. 24.  
 ἀπολαμβάνειν 1235. 85.  
 ἀπολείπειν 1236. verso 8.  
 Ἀπολλόδωρος 1241. ii. 20.  
 ἀπολλύειν 1238. 5.  
 Ἀπόλλων 1241. iv. 24.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος 1241. ii. 1, 9.  
 ἀποπέμπειν 1235. 74.  
 ἀποφαίνειν 1235. 68.  
 ἄρα 1237. 1. i. 4.  
 ἄρα 1240. 1.  
 Ἀργεῖοι 1241. v. 33.  
 Ἄργος 1241. v. 14, 17, 20.  
 Ἄρδηλος 1241. vi. 11.  
 ἄρῆιος 1241. iv. 20.  
 Ἄρης 1241. iv. 12, 19, vi. 13.  
 Ἀρίσταρχος 1241. ii. 8, 11.  
 ἀριστερά 1241. v. 35.  
 ἄριστος 1235. 97 (?).  
 Ἀριστοτέλης 1241. iii. 2 (?).  
 Ἀριστοφάνης 1241. ii. 7.  
 ἄρπα[ 1237. 2. 4.  
 ἄρπη 1241. vi. 23 (?).  
 ἀρχή 1235. 103.  
 ἀρχηγός 1241. iii. 35.  
 [ἀ]σεβής 1242. 76.  
 Ἀσία 1241. ii. 23.  
 Ἀσίας 1241. ii. 22.

- ἀσπάζεσθαι 1242. 29, 31, 33.  
 ἀσπίς 1241. v. 12, 20, 22, 28, 32.  
 ἀταφος 1241. iii. 27.  
 Ἀττική 1241. v. 11.  
 αὐ 1236. verso 10.  
 αὐθάδως 1242. 41, 44, 45.  
 αὐθαίρετος 1242. 10.  
 αὔριον 1224. 2. recto i. 4.  
 Ἀντοκράτωρ 1242. 23, 29, 34, 46.  
 αὐτός 1224. 2. verso ii. 2; 1235. 51, 56, 64,  
 69; 1236. verso 6; 1241. iii. 9, 32, iv.  
 25; 1242. 12, 22, 30-2.  
 βάπτισμα 1224. 2. verso i. 4.  
 βάρβαρος 1236. verso 2.  
 βαρεῖν 1224. 2. recto ii. 1.  
 βασιλεύς 1241. ii. 5, 18, v. 5.  
 βασίλισσα 1241. iv. 32.  
 βαστάζειν 1242. 17, 51.  
 βέλτιστος 1235. 105.  
 βιάζεσθαι 1236. verso 9.  
 βιός 1235. 116.  
 βλέπειν 1236. verso 10.  
 βόειος 1241. v. 11.  
 βοηθεῖν 1242. 28, 49.  
 βούλεσθαι 1239. 8.  
 βοῦς 1241. v. 10.  
 Βρυέρως 1241. iv. 16.  
 βροντᾶν 1236. 18.  
 Βυζάντιος 1241. ii. 8.  
 γαμῖν 1235. 53, 85 (?), 117.  
 γάμος 1235. 92.  
 γαμ[ 1235. 80.  
 γάρ 1224. 2. recto i. 2, ii. 3; 1237. 2. 6;  
 1242. 74.  
 γε 1237. 1. i. 17; 1239. 15.  
 γείτων 1235. 62; 1239. 11 (?).  
 γελᾶν 1239. 5.  
 γένος 1242. 9, 15, 45.  
 γέρων 1235. 71.  
 γῆ 1235. 120.  
 γίγνεσθαι 1224. 2. recto i. 5; 1235. 38, 109;  
 1241. ii. 4, 14, iii. 36, iv. 6, v. 7; 1242.  
 4, 53.  
 γιγνώσκειν 1235. 63.  
 Γλαύκων 1242. 14.  
 Γνήθων 1237. 1. i. 16, 17.  
 γνήσιος 1235. 51, 89.  
 γνώριμος 1241. ii. 3.  
 γραμματεῖς 1224. 2. verso ii. 1.  
 γραμματικός 1241. i. 14, 16, ii. 20.  
 γράφειν 1235. 105.  
 γυμνασίάρχος 1242. 6-8.  
 γυνή 1235. 57; 1236. verso 8; 1241. iii. 9.  
 δαίμων 1236. verso 5.  
 Δαναός 1241. v. 13.  
 Δᾶος 1237. 1. i. 16, ii. 3.  
 δεῖν 1237. 1. i. 9. δεῖσθαι 1236. verso 11.  
 δεῖν ('bind') 1241. iv. 23.  
 δέρμι 1241. ii. 26, v. 8.  
 δεῦρο 1239. 13.  
 δέντερον 1242. 43.  
 δῆ 1241. vi. 17, 23.  
 δημα[ 1241. vi. 6.  
 Δημέας 1235. 104.  
 δῆπον 1237. 1. i. 7.  
 διά 1235. 104, 109; 1236. verso 4.  
 διαδέχεσθαι 1241. ii. 6.  
 διαλέγεσθαι 1235. 55.  
 διαλλάσσειν 1235. 60.  
 διαμάχημα 1235. 64.  
 διαρρήδην 1236. verso 7.  
 διδάσκαλος 1241. ii. 4, 14, vi. 15.  
 διδάσκειν 1224. 2. verso 3; 1235. 59; 1241.  
 v. 28; 1242. 46.  
 διδαχή 1224. 2. verso i. 3.  
 διδύνα 1224. 2. recto ii. 5; 1235. 94, 108.  
 διδυμος 1235. 117.  
 δικαστήριον 1241. iv. 4.  
 διό 1235. 69.  
 Διοκλῆς 1241. ii. 19.  
 Διονύσια 1235. 109.  
 Διονύσιος 1242. 3.  
 δορά 1237. 2. 5; 1241. iv. 17, 35.  
 δόρυ 1241. v. 8.  
 δράμα 1235. 96 (?).  
 δύο 1235. 114.  
 εἶαν 1242. 74.  
 εἰαυτοῦ 1235. 62. αὐτοῦ 1241. ii. 27, iv. 30.  
 ἐβδομηκοστός 1235. 107.  
 ἐγκαλεῖν 1237. 1. i. 8.  
 ἐγκαταλείπειν 1236. verso 12.  
 ἐγώ 1224. 2. recto ii. 1; 1235. 105; 1236.  
 verso 6-8, 10, 12, 13; 1237. 1. i. 3, 9;  
 1238. 4, 16; 1240. 11; 1242. 35, 41,  
 46, 47.  
 ἔθνος 1242. 12.

- εἰ 1239. 3, 11.  
 εἰδογράφος 1241. ii. 10.  
 εἶναι 1224. 2. recto i. 2, 3; 1235. 96; 1237.  
 2. 4; 1241. iii. 1, 27, v. 5; 1242. 48, 75,  
 77.  
 εἰπεῖν 1224. 2. verso i. 1; 1242. 35, 41, 43,  
 45, 46.  
 εἶς, οὐδὲ εἶς 1239. 4.  
 εἶς 1235. 108; 1241. v. 14, 35; 1242. 23,  
 54, 55.  
 εἰσέρχεσθαι 1242. 29, 32.  
 εἰσέναι 1239. 10.  
 εἰσπέμπειν 1235. 54.  
 εἶτα 1241. ii. 9.  
 ἐκ 1241. ii. 16.  
 ἔκαστος 1242. 17.  
 ἐκβοᾶν 1242. 54.  
 ἐκδιώκειν 1241. ii. 32.  
 ἐκέως 1235. 63, 74; 1237. 1. i. 6 (?).  
 ἐκφέρειν 1241. ii. 29.  
 ἐλάχιστος 1239. 1.  
 Ἑλλάνικος 1241. v. 3.  
 Ἑλληνίς 1241. ii. 33.  
 ἐλπῖς 1237. 1. i. 5.  
 ἐμβαίνειν 1240. 6.  
 ἐμβροντᾶν 1237. 1. i. 11.  
 ἐμός 1239. 11.  
 ἐμφύλιος 1241. ii. 28, iii. 29, 35, iv. 3.  
 ἐν 1224. 1. recto 1, 2. recto i. 5, ii. 2; 1241.  
 iv. 7, 13, 21, 28, v. 11, 17, 20, 25; 1242. 3.  
 ἐναντίος 1241. iii. 15.  
 ἔνατος 1241. ii. 17.  
 ἐνδύειν 1241. iv. 27.  
 ἐνθάδε 1239. 10.  
 ἐνόπλιος 1241. v. 26.  
 Ἐνυάλιος 1241. iv. 21.  
 ἐξάγειν 1241. ii. 25.  
 ἐξαιτεῖσθαι 1241. iii. 17.  
 ἐξανδραποδίζειν 1241. iii. 5.  
 ἐξέρχεσθαι 1236. verso 14.  
 ἐξετάζειν 1235. 70.  
 ἐξίναμι 1240. 18.  
 ἐξιχνύειν 1235. 49.  
 ἐπακροᾶσθαι 1236. verso 12, 16.  
 ἔπειτα 1235. 110.  
 ἐπί 1235. 101, 106; 1241. ii. 17, iii. 26, 33,  
 iv. 34, v. 8, vi. 1, 26; 1242. 72.  
 ἐπίναμι 1239. 6.  
 ἐπιλήμιος 1239. 9 (?).  
 ἐπισκέπτεσθαι 1235. 40.  
 ἐπιτίθεσθαι 1241. ii. 31.  
 ἐπιτροπή 1242. 4.  
 ἐπιχειρεῖν 1235. 44.  
 ἐπτά 1241. iii. 25.  
 Ἐρατοσθένης 1241. ii. 6.  
 ἐργάζεσθαι 1235. 121.  
 ἐργασία 1235. 108.  
 ἐρεῖν 1236. verso 7.  
 Ἐρμαῖσκος 1242. 41, 44, 45, 47, 50.  
 ἔρχεσθαι 1235. 37, 84.  
 ἔρωσ 1235. 93.  
 Ἐτεόκλητες 1241. v. 27.  
 ἔτερος 1238. 2; 1241. iv. 26, v. 29 (?), vi. 16,  
 24 (?).  
 ἔτι 1241. iv. 36.  
 Ἐύβοια 1241. iv. 13, 29.  
 εὐμένεστατα 1242. 30.  
 ἔχειν 1224. 2. verso ii. 6 (?); 1236. verso 10;  
 1237. 1. i. 8; 1239. 1.  
 ἐχθρός 1224. 2. recto i. 2.  
  
 Ζεὺς 1241. iv. 21, vi. 24.  
 ζηλοτυπεῖν 1238. 1.  
 Ζηρόδοτος 1241. ii. 19.  
 ζητεῖν 1235. 43.  
 ζῆ. [ 1240. 3.  
 ζωγράφος 1241. i. 5 (?).  
  
 ἦ 1240. 2.  
 ἦδη 1241. v. 10; 1242. 31.  
 Ἡιονεύς 1241. iv. 1.  
 ἡμέρα 1239. 6.  
 Ἡρακλῆς 1241. iii. 14.  
  
 θάλασσα 1235. 121.  
 θάνατος 1242. 40.  
 θάπτειν 1241. iii. 28.  
 θεῖσθαι 1224. 2. verso ii. 2; 1242. 52.  
 θέλειν 1237. 2. 7.  
 θεός 1236. verso 13; 1242. 18, 72.  
 θεοφορεῖν 1235. 46.  
 θεραπεία 1235. 47.  
 θεράπων 1235. 59, 76.  
 Θερμαῖος 1241. v. 24.  
 Θεύδης 1242. 14.  
 Θεών 1242. 8.  
 Θηβαί 1241. iii. 26, iv. 7.  
 Θηβαῖοι 1241. iii. 25.  
 Θήρων 1238. 2.  
 Θησεύς 1241. iii. 24.

- θνήσκειν 1242. 40.  
 Θράκες 1241. vi. 19.  
 Θράκη 1241. iv. 21.  
 θυγάτηρ 1235. 53 ; 1241. iii. 10.  
 θύειν 1241. v. 10.  
 θυρέος 1241. vi. 5.  
 Ἰάκουμβος 1242. 14.  
 ἰδεῖν 1240. 15. ἴδε 1242. 43.  
 ἴδιος 1242. 12, 18.  
 ἰδροῦν 1242. 52.  
 ἰέρεια 1235. 34, 39, 46, 52, 56, 86, 90.  
 ἱερέυς 1224. 2. verso ii. 2.  
 Ἰησοῦς 1224. 2. recto ii. 2, verso ii. 5.  
 Ἰλλυριοί 1241. vi. 4.  
 ἰμάτιον 1241. iv. 36.  
 Ἰμβριοι 1235. 103.  
 Ἰμβρος 1235. 116.  
 ἴνα 1235. 47.  
 Ἰναχος 1241. iv. 5.  
 Ἰξίων 1241. iii. 35.  
 Ἰουδαῖοι 1242. 11, 16, 24, 28, 29, 37, 39, 43,  
 47, 48, 50.  
 Ἰούλιος Σαλούιος 1242. 5.  
 Ἰούλιος Φανίας 1242. 6.  
 Ἰσμηνός 1241. iv. 7.  
 ἰστίον 1241. iv. 36 (?).  
 ἰστορεῖν 1241. iv. 19, v. 15, 31.  
 Ἰώ 1241. iii. 31.  
 Κάαντος 1241. iv. 8 (Κλααιτ. Pap.).  
 καθοπλίζειν 1241. iv. 29.  
 καθόπισις 1241. v. 6.  
 καί, κάμοι 1242. 41.  
 καινός 1224. 2. verso i. 3, 4.  
 Καῖσαρ 1242. 30, 43, 46.  
 κακός 1238. 5. κακῶς 1236. verso 10 ;  
 1238. 5.  
 καλεῖν 1241. ii. 2, 10, iv. 14, vi. 18, 23.  
 Καλλίμαχος 1241. ii. 2.  
 Κάλλιππος 1235. 111.  
 Kāres 1241. v. 29.  
 κατά 1224. 2. recto i. 3 ; 1235. 120, 121 ;  
 1241. iii. 18, 23 ; 1242. 27.  
 καταδεικνύναι 1241. v. 30.  
 καταπορνεύειν 1241. iii. 11 (?).  
 κατασκευάζεσθαι 1241. iv. 11, v. 1 (?), 3, 16, 21,  
 vi. 8 (?), 20 (?).  
 καταφροεῖν 1242. 40.  
 κατορύσσειν 1235. 36.  
 Κέκροψ 1241. v. 8.  
 Κεφαλληνία 1241. iii. 1.  
 Κέφαλος 1241. ii. 35.  
 Κηφεύς 1241. iii. 34.  
 κλάειν 1239. 5.  
 Κλαύδιος 1242. 72.  
 Κλαύδιος Ἀθημ[όδωρος 1242. 71.  
 Κλεισθένης 1241. iii. 7.  
 κλίνειν 1237. 1. i. 12.  
 κοινοποιεῖσθαι 1235. 118.  
 κοινός 1235. 115.  
 Κόλων 1242. 14.  
 κομίζειν 1241. v. 14.  
 κόσμος 1240. 4.  
 Κουρήτες 1241. iv. 28.  
 κραυγή 1242. 54.  
 Κρής 1241. v. 24.  
 Κύδας 1241. ii. 16.  
 Κύκλωπες 1241. iv. 12.  
 Κύμινδης 1241. iv. 31.  
 κωμάζειν 1240. 7.  
 λάθρα 1235. 48.  
 λαλεῖν 1235. 56 ; 1238. 6.  
 λαμβάνειν 1235. 58, 87, 90 ; 1237. 1. i. 15 ;  
 1241. iii. 28.  
 λανθάνειν 1236. verso 14, 17.  
 Λαχάρης 1235. 110.  
 λέγειν 1235. 66 ; 1239. 8, 9 ; 1241. ii. 22,  
 29, iii. 13, 30, iv. 6, 11, v. 7, 13, 29, vi.  
 16 (?); 1242. 44, 50, 73.  
 λήγειν 1242. 22.  
 λόγος 1242. 22.  
 λογχοφόρος 1241. ii. 16.  
 λοιδορ[ 1242. 74.  
 λόφος 1242. 55.  
 Λυκάων 1241. vi. 21.  
 λυπεῖν 1242. 42.  
 μά 1236. verso 13.  
 μαίνεσθαι 1235. 66 (μεμενηκέναι Pap.), 73.  
 μακαριώτατος 1239. 2.  
 μακράν 1224. 2. recto i. 4.  
 Μαλθάκη 1238. 4, 5.  
 μάλιστα 1235. 58.  
 μανθάνειν 1242. 11, 23.  
 μάτην 1237. 1. i. 12.  
 μάχαιρα 1241. vi. 26.  
 μέγας 1240. 2. μέγιστος 1242. 46.  
 μειρακίσκος 1235. 52.

μελετᾶν 1242. 40.  
 Μελία 1241. iv. 9.  
 μέν 1235. 34, 84; 1236. recto 7; 1237. 1. i. 6 (?); 1241. iv. 12, 26; 1242. 73. μέν οὖν 1235. 94 (?); 1242. 17.  
 μερίς 1239. 2.  
 μέρος 1242. 55.  
 μέσος, ἀνά μ. 1224. 2. verso ii. 4.  
 μετά 1235. 69; 1241. ii. 7, 11, 16, 27, iii. 8, iv. 30; 1242. 32, 53.  
 μεταβολή 1239. 7.  
 μεταδιδόναι 1242. 21.  
 μετιέναι 1236. verso 4.  
 μή 1224. 2. verso i. 1; 1236. verso 8, 12; 1238. 1; 1242. 49.  
 μήτηρ 1235. 54.  
 μόλις 1241. iii. 21.  
 μόνου 1241. iii. 5.  
 ναί 1237. 1. i. 3.  
 νεκρός 1241. iii. 12.  
 νέος 1235. 68, 98. νεώτερος 1235. 61.  
 νῆσος 1241. v. 25.  
 Νικοκλῆς 1235. 106 (l. Νικίας?).  
 νῦν 1239. 10; 1240. 13.  
 ξιφοδρέπανον 1241. vi. 22.  
 ξίφος 1241. vi. 19 (?).  
 ξύλινος 1241. v. 22.  
 ξύλον 1241. ii. 26.  
 ὁ μέν, ὁ δέ 1235. 95-6. οἱ μέν, τινὲς δέ 1241. iv. 12. ὁ δέ 1241. v. 22; 1242. 34.  
 ὀβολός 1237. 2. 3.  
 οἰκεῖν 1235. 116; 1241. v. 24.  
 οἰκέτης 1235. 45, 99; 1240. 9, 15.  
 οἴμοι 1236. verso 11.  
 οἰμώζειν 1238. 9.  
 οἶος 1236. recto 7.  
 ὀλίγος 1242. 53.  
 Ὀνήσιμος 1236. verso 10.  
 Ὀνίας 1242. 14.  
 ὄνομα 1242. 48.  
 ὀπλίζειν 1241. ii. 27, iv. 15.  
 ὄπλον 1241. iv. 10, 20, 27, 34, v. 3, 29, vi. 17.  
 ὄποιος 1240. 7.  
 ὄραμα 1224. 2. recto ii. 2.  
 ὄρᾶν 1236. verso 19; 1239. 9.  
 ὀρμίζειν 1242. 23.  
 ὄρχησις 1241. v. 27.

ὄς 1235. 91, 94, 103; 1237. 1. i. 6 (?)  
 1241. ii. 7, 11, 16, 23, iii. 1 (?), 33, iv. 14, 22, vi. 22 (?); 1242. 51.  
 ὄσος 1235. 104.  
 ὄστις 1239. 1.  
 ὅτε 1241. iii. 7 (?), 25, v. 10.  
 ὅτι 1242. 24, 42, 47.  
 οὐ (οὐκ) 1224. 2. recto ii. 3; 1236. verso 8  
 1237. 1. i. 9; 1241. iii. 5, v. 19; 1242. 34. οὐχί 1240. 1.  
 οὐδέ 1239. 4.  
 οὐθείς 1236. verso 19.  
 οὐκουν 1237. 1. i. 16. οὐκοῦν 1242. 48.  
 οὖν 1235. 95 (?); 1236. verso 9; 1242. 17  
 49.  
 οὗτος 1235. 70, 105; 1236. verso 3, 11, 12; 1238. 6; 1241. ii. 3, 6, 13, 32, iii. 4, iv. 25, v. 21, 26; 1242. 11, 50. οὐτοσί 1237. 1. i. 14. τουτί 1238. 3.  
 ὀφείλειν 1242. 48.  
 Ὀφιοῦσσα 1241. v. 25.  
 ὄχανον 1241. v. 28.  
 ὄχρῦς 1241. v. 34.  
 ὄψις 1242. 76.  
 παῖς 1235. 37; 1241. iv. 23.  
 πάλα 1237. 1. i. 11.  
 πάλι 1242. 49.  
 παμπληθής 1242. 54.  
 πάνν 1236. verso 10.  
 παραγίνεσθαι 1242. 27.  
 παραφώνησις 1235. 102.  
 παρῆναι 1238. 2; 1242. 24.  
 παρέχειν 1236. verso 8; 1238. 8.  
 πάρμη 1241. vi. 3 (?).  
 πᾶς 1224. 1. recto 1; 1235. 67, 100, 101, 118; 1237. 1. ii. 3; 1242. 55.  
 Πάστωρ 1242. 6.  
 πατήρ 1236. verso 5, 6.  
 Παῦλος 1242. 9.  
 πείθειν 1235. 45, 49 (l. πεπυσμένος); 1238. 4; 1242. 44.  
 Πελασγός 1241. ii. 31, vi. 21.  
 Πελληνη 1241. iii. 3, 6.  
 πέλητῃ 1241. vi. 18 (?).  
 πένης 1235. 114.  
 πενθερός 1241. iv. 2 (?).  
 περαίνειν 1237. 1. ii. 1.  
 περί 1235. 56; 1241. iii. 3, iv. 9, v. 32.  
 περιβάλλεσθαι 1241. v. 32.

- περιβολή 1241. v. 9.  
 περιπιθέναι 1241. v. 34, 35.  
 Περσεύς 1241. vi. 24.  
 Πηλεύς 1241. vi. 25.  
 πιμπλάναι 1242. 42.  
 πιπράσκειν 1237. I. i. 4.  
 πλακοῦς 1240. 15.  
 πλείν 1241. v. 2.  
 Πλωτεῖνα 1242. 26, 32.  
 ποδεών 1241. v. 1.  
 ποιεῖν 1235. 115; 1241. iii. 29, iv. 4, 22, 28,  
 34 (?), v. 12, 23; 1242. 47.  
 ποιμῆν 1241. ii. 30.  
 ποῖος 1224. 2. verso i. 2.  
 πολεμείν 1241. v. 17.  
 πολεμικός 1241. iv. 10.  
 πόλεμος 1241. ii. 28, iii. 23.  
 πόλις 1241. ii. 23; 1242. 17.  
 Πολύγνωτος 1241. i. 5.  
 πολύς 1235. 34; 1237. I. ii. 3; 1239. 8;  
 1242. 4.  
 πορεύεσθαι 1242. 37.  
 πορθεῖν 1241. ii. 33.  
 πορνοβοσκός 1237. I. ii. 2.  
 πόρπαξ 1241. v. 34.  
 ποτέ 1239. 4.  
 πον 1240. 2.  
 πράγμα 1236. recto 6 (?), verso 8.  
 πρέσβεις 1242. 13, 24, 33, 51.  
 πρεσβύτερος 1235. 72.  
 πρεσβύτης 1235. 67, 84.  
 προαιρέεσθαι 1235. 53.  
 προβολ[ 1241. v. 14.  
 προδιασείειν 1235. 65.  
 Προῖτος 1241. v. 18, 20.  
 προξενεῖν 1235. 93.  
 προπείθειν 1242. 31.  
 πρὸς 1235. 46, 55; 1241. iii. 25, 32, v. 17.  
 προσαγορεύειν 1241. ii. 24.  
 προσεύχεσθαι 1224. 2. recto i. 1.  
 προσφωνεῖν 1235. 63, 72.  
 πρόσωπον 1235. 60.  
 πρότερον 1235. 38; 1241. iv. 16, v. 31.  
 προτομή 1242. 51.  
 προχειρίζεσθαι 1242. 12.  
 πρῶτος 1241. ii. 5 (I. τρίτος), 21, 28, 34, iii. 3,  
 24, 29, iv. 15, 20, 26, v. 3, 13, 15, 23, 33,  
 vi. 8, 20; 1242. 29. πρῶτον 1241. iv. 6,  
 v. 7.  
 Πυθαγόρας 1241. i. 4.  
 πυνθάνεσθαι 1235. 49 (πεπεισμένος Pap.).  
 Πύρρις 1241. v. 24 (I. Πύρριχος?).  
 Πυρωνίδης 1240. 1.  
 ῥόδιος 1241. ii. 2.  
 ῥύεσθαι 1241. iv. 25.  
 ῥώμη 1242. 23, 54.  
 Σαλούιος 1242. 5. Ἰούλιος Σ. 1242. 5.  
 σάλπιγξ 1241. vi. 7.  
 Σαμοθράκη 1241. vi. 6.  
 Σαμόθραξ 1241. ii. 13.  
 Σάνεννος 1241. v. 4.  
 Σαρᾶπις 1242. 51.  
 σεαντοῦ 1242. 45, 49.  
 σίδηρος 1241. v. 2 (?).  
 Σικωνῖοι 1241. iii. 8.  
 Σιλλεύς 1241. ii. 1.  
 Σίμων 1242. 13.  
 σκεπάζειν 1241. iv. 18, 35 (?).  
 Σκόπας 1241. i. 4.  
 Σκύθαι 1241. v. 5.  
 σκυθ... 1239. 16.  
 Σμικρίνης 1236. verso 7.  
 σοφῶς 1236. verso 3.  
 σπήλαιον 1241. iv. 13.  
 στέφανος 1239. 13.  
 στρατεύειν 1241. iii. 7, 26, vi. 1 (?).  
 στρατόπεδον 1241. ii. 21.  
 στρατός 1241. ii. 24.  
 σύ 1224. 2. recto ii. 4, verso i. 2; 1235.  
 104; 1236. verso 7, 10, 11; 1242. 42,  
 43. ὑμεῖς 1224. I. recto 2, verso 1, 2.  
 recto i. 2, 3.  
 συγκλητικός 1242. 26.  
 συμβαίνειν 1239. 3; 1241. iii. 4.  
 σύν 1236. verso 3; 1241. ii. 35 (?); 1242. 21.  
 συνάγειν 1241. ii. 30.  
 συνδρομή 1242. 53.  
 συνέδριον 1242. 42, 47.  
 συνηγορεῖν 1242. 50.  
 συνηγορος 1242. 10, 16.  
 συνιστάναί 1241. ii. 22.  
 σφόδρα 1236. verso 10.  
 σῶμα 1241. iii. 28, iv. 17.  
 Σώπατρος 1242. 15.  
 Σωτίων 1242. 8.  
 τάλας 1236. verso 11.  
 ταράσσειν 1236. verso 9.



*τάσσεσθαι* 1242. 25.  
*Τάφιος* 1241. iii. 1.  
*ταχύ* 1239. 13.  
*τε* 1239. 17, 18; 1241. iv. 34; 1242. 25  
 (l. ὥστε or ἦ?), 54.  
*τέκνον* 1241. ii. 15.  
*τέλος, διὰ τέλους* 1236. verso 4.  
*Τευχίον* 1241. iv. 14.  
*τεῦχος* 1241. iv. 15.  
*τηλικούτος* 1242. 70.  
*τιθέναι* 1241. iii. 34.  
*Τιμαγένης* 1242. 5.  
*τίς, τί* 1224. 2. recto ii. 3; 1236. verso 6, 9,  
 10; 1242. 45.  
*τις* 1236. verso 5; 1239. 11, 13; 1241. iii.  
 5, 34, iv. 12, 18, v. 15, 30, vi. 23.  
*τοιούτος* 1242. 36.  
*τολμᾶν* 1238. 3; 1242. 36.  
*Τρατανός* 1242. 30, 52.  
*τρεις* 1235. 92.  
*τρέφειν* 1235. 88.  
*τρίτος* 1241. ii. 5 (πρῶτος Pap.).  
*τυγχάνειν* 1242. 35.  
*τύραννος* 1235. 110.  
*Τύριος* 1242. 9.  
*Τυρρηνός* 1241. vi. 10.  
*Τυρρηνοί* 1241. vi. 9.  
  
*υἱός (υἱός)* 1235. 51, 62, 68, 73, 85, 90.  
*ὑπαρξίς* 1235. 119.  
*ὑπέρ* 1224. 2. recto i. 1, 3; 1242. 10, 16.  
*ὑπό* 1235. 59, 76; 1241. iii. 7, iv. 22, vi. 4,  
 19; 1242. 32.  
*ὑποβάλλειν* 1235. 50.  
*ὑπόθεσις* 1235. 95, 113.  
*ὑποκρίνεσθαι* 1235. 111.  
*ὑπόσπονδος* 1241. iii. 12.  
*ὑποψία* 1235. 58.  
*ὑστερον* 1241. v. 9.  
*ὑφαίνειν* 1241. iv. 36.  
*ὑψηλός* 1242. 55.

*φάναί* 1241. ii. 23, iii. 6, 15, 35, iv. 20, 27, v.  
 4, 19, vi. 8, 21.  
*φανερός* 1240. 1.  
*Φανίας* 1242. 6.  
*Φαρισαῖος* 1224. 2. verso ii. 1.  
*Φειδίας* 1241. i. 2 (?).  
*φέρειν* 1235. 45; 1239. 14. *φέρει* 1240. 15.  
*φεύγειν* 1242. 55 (ἔφευγαν).  
*Φιλάδελφος* 1241. i. 17.  
*φιλόκολος* 1239. 18.  
*Φιλόξενος* 1242. 7.  
*Φιλοπάτωρ* 1241. ii. 15 (l. Φιλομήτωρ or Ἐπι-  
 φάνης).  
*φιλοπόνως* 1235. 119.  
*φίλος* 1235. 114; 1239. 5.  
*Φιλόχορος* 1241. v. 6.  
*φιλ . . .* 1240. 11, 12.  
*φόνος* 1241. iii. 28, 36, iv. 7.  
*Φορωνεύς* 1241. ii. 25, iv. 5.  
  
*χαίρειν* 1242. 36.  
*χαιρετίζειν* 1242. 35.  
*χαλεπός* 1242. 36, 48.  
*χαλκός* 1241. iv. 27.  
*χαλκοῦς* 1241. v. 22.  
*χαλ[* 1237. 2. 2.  
*χειμών* 1242. 22.  
*χείρ* 1237. 1. i. 13.  
*χειροτονεῖν* 1242. 13.  
*χορός* 1240. 11.  
*χρησθαι* 1236. verso 6; 1237. 1. i. 10.  
*χρόνος* 1235. 104.  
*χώρα* 1241. iii. 2; 1242. 25.  
  
*ὦ* 1237. 1. i. 17.  
*Ὀκεανός* 1241. iv. 8.  
*ὄμος* 1241. v. 32.  
*ὡς* 1235. 46, 62, 73; 1237. 1. i. 9; 1241.  
 iv. 18, v. 14, 30; 1242. 35.  
*ὥστε* 1242. 41.

## II. EMPERORS.

## AUGUSTUS.

θεός Σεβαστός Καίσαρ 1256. 14.

θεός Καίσαρ 1266. 11.

## TIBERIUS.

Τιβέριος Καίσαρ. Σεβαστός 1281. 13 ; 1291. 13.

## CLAUDIUS.

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ. Σεβ. Γερμανικός Αυτοκράτωρ 1258. 4, 12 ; 1321.

## NERO.

Νέρων Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ. Γερμ. Αυτοκρ. 1316.

## VESPASIAN.

θεός Ούεσπασιανός 1266. 4, 24 ; 1282. 23.

## DOMITIAN.

Αυτοκρ. Καίσαρ. Δομιτιανός Σεβ. 1282. 2, 43.

Αυτοκρ. Καίσαρ. Δομιτιανός Σεβ. Γερμ. 1317.

Δομιτιανός 1266. 17.

## TRAJAN.

Αυτοκρ. Καίσαρ. Νέρονος Τραιανός Σεβ. Γερμ. 1266. 30, 37.

## HADRIAN.

Αυτοκρ. Καίσαρ. Τραιανός 'Αδριανός Σεβ. 1293. 36.

'Αδριανός Καίσαρ. ό κύριος 1263. 11.

## ANTONINUS.

Αυτοκρ. Καίσαρ. Τίτος Αίλιος 'Αδριανός 'Αντωνίνος Σεβ. Εύσεβής 1270. 8, 54, 59 ; 1272. 23 ; 1279. 26.

'Αντωνίνος Καίσαρ. ό κύριος 1270. 44 ; 1279. 8.

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA.

Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εύσεβής Περτίναξ Καίσαρ. ό κύριος και Μάρκος Αύρηλιος 'Αντωνίνος αποδεδειγμένος Αυτοκράτωρ 1309.

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA, AND GETA.

Αυτοκρ. Καίσαρες Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εύσεβ. Περτίναξ 'Αραβικός 'Αδιαβηκός Παρθικός Μέγιστος και Μάρκος Αύρηλιος 'Αντωνίνος Εύσεβ. Σεβαστοί και Πούβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτας Καίσαρ. Σεβ. 1267. 25.

οί κύριοι Αυτοκρ. Σουήρος και 'Αντωνίνος και Γέτας Καίσαρ. Σεβαστοί 1267. 21.

## CARACALLA AND GETA.

Αυτοκρ. Καίσαρες Μάρκος Αύρηλιος 'Αντωνίνος και Πούβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτας Βρεταννικοί Μέγιστοι Εύσεβείς Σεβ. 1259. 27.

οί κύριοι Αυτοκρ. 'Αντωνίνος και Γέτας Εύσεβείς Σεβ. 1259. 13.

## CARACALLA.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀντωνῖνος Παρθ. Μέγ. Βρετανν. Μέγ. Γερμ. Μέγ. Εὐσεβ. Σεβ. 1278. 31.

## ELAGABALUS.

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Καῖσ. ὁ κύριος 1283. 8.

## PHILIPPI.

Αὐτοκρ. Καίσαρες Μάρκοι Ἰούλιοι Φίλιπποι Καρπικοὶ Μέγ. Γερμ. Μέγ. Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 1276. 22.

## DECIUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Γάιος Μέσσιος Κύντος Τραιανὸς Δέκιος Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. καὶ Κύντος Ἐρέννιος Ἐτροῦδος Μέσσιος Δέκιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐάλενς Ὄστιλιανὸς Μέσσιος Κύντος οἱ σεβασμῶτατοι Καίσαρες Σεβ. 1284. 1.

## AEMILIANUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος Αἰμιλιανὸς Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 1286. 10.

## VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καίσαρες Πούπλιος Δικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Δικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς Γαλληνὸς Γερμ. Μέγ. καὶ Πούπλιος Δικίνιος Κορνήλιος Οὐαλεριανὸς ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστοὶ 1277. 15.

Αὐτοκρ. Καίσαρες Πούπλιος Δικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Δικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς Γαλληνὸς Γερμανικοὶ Μέγ. Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. καὶ Πούπλιος Δικίνιος Κορνήλιος Σαλωνῖνος Οὐαλεριανὸς ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσ. Σεβαστοὶ 1273. 42.

## MACRIANUS AND QUIETUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καίσαρες Τίτος Φουλούιος Ἰούνιος Μακριανὸς καὶ Τίτος Φουλούιος Ἰούνιος Κυῆτος Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 1254. 28.

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Μακριανὸς καὶ Κυῆτος Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 1254. 11.

## AURELIAN AND VABALLATHUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Λούκιος Δομίτιος Αὐρηλιανὸς Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. καὶ Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Σεπτίμιος Οὐαβάλλαθος Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ λαμπρότατος βασιλεὺς ἕπατος Αὐτοκρ. στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων 1264. 20.

## PROBUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Πρόβος Γοθικὸς Μέγ. Παρθ. Μέγ. Γερμ. Μέγ. Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 1256. 20.

## DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Γάιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 1260. 30.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Γάιος Αὐρ. Οὐαλέριος Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αὐρηλ. Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς Γερμανικοὶ Μέγ. Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 1252. recto 39.

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ 1252. recto 12 ; 1255. 12, 22.

## GALERIUS.

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Γαλέριος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβ. καὶ Μαξιμίνος ὁ ἀνδρείωτατος Καῖσ. (ἔτος ια καὶ [.] **1318**.)

## CONSTANTINE.

ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Κωνσταντῖνος Αὔγουστος **1265**. 1.  
οἱ δεσπῶται ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτωρ τε καὶ Καίσαρες **1261**. 5; **1265**. 16.  
οἱ δεσπ. ἡμῶν Κρίσπος καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες **1261**. 1.

## THEODOSIUS.

ὁ δεσπ. ἡμῶν Θεοδόσιος ὁ αἰώνιος Αὔγουστος **1319**.

## ANASTASIUS.

ὁ δεσπ. ἡμῶν Φλαούιος Ἀναστάσιος ὁ αἰών. Αὔγ. **1320**.

βασιλεία, ἡ εὐτυχεστάτη αὐτῆ βασιλ. **1257**. 7.

## III. CONSULS, ERAS, INDICATIONS.

## CONSULS.

Praesenti Albino co(n)s(ulibus) (246) **1271**. 13.  
μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κρίσπον καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων  
τὸ γ' (325) **1261**. 1.  
μετὰ τὴν ὑπ. Ἰουλίου Κωνσταντίου πατρικίου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὔγουστου.  
καὶ Ῥουφίου Ἀλβίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων (336) **1265**. 1.  
ὑπατίας τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὔγουστου καὶ Φλαούιου Ῥουμορίδου τοῦ  
λαμπροτάτου (403) **1319**.  
ὑπατίας τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμῶν Φλαούιου Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰών. Αὔγ. τὸ β' (497) **1320**.  
ὑπατίας τῆς προκειμένης **1261**. 12; **1265**. 25.

## ERAS OF OXYRHYNCHUS.

ἔτος ος με (399) **1329**.  
ἔτος ρ νθ (413) **1322**.  
ἔτος ργ ξδ (l. ρδ ξγ, i. e. 416) **1334**.  
ἔτος ρνη ρκζ (482) **1335**.

## INDICTIONS.

3rd (5th or 6th cent.) **1326**; **1327**.  
5th (482) **1335**.  
6th (497) **1320**.  
9th (5th cent.) **1331**.  
11th (late 4th or 5th cent.) **1328**.  
12th (323-4) **1261**. 6; (399) **1329**; (4th cent. Παχὼν ἀρχῆ) **1280**. 9; (late 4th or 5th cent.) **1330**; (413) **1322**.  
13th (399) **1329**.  
14th (6th cent.) **1323**.

## IV. MONTHS AND DAYS.

## (a) MONTHS.

'Αδριανός (Choiak) 1270. 10, 56; 1278. 34.	Νέος Σεβαστός (Hathur) 1258. 14; 1281. 3, 24, 45; 1291. 14.
Δεκέμβριος 1318.	Παχών ἀρχὴ τῆς δωδεκάτης ἰνδικτίωνος 1280. 9.
Καυσάρειος (Mesore) 1279. 22; 1304; 1316.	Σωτήριος (Pauni) 1317.

## (b) DAYS.

ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι 1278. 26; 1316.	xvii k[al(endas)] . . . 1271. 12.
πρὸ δ καλανδῶν Δεκεμβρίων 1318.	

## V. PERSONAL NAMES.

'Αβελε f. of Abram 1332.	'Αμμώνιος ὁ καὶ 'Αφύγχις f. of Aurelius Theon 1277. 4.
'Αβελος 1307.	'Αμμώνιος gymnasiarch, s. of Ptoliarion 1252. verso 32.
'Αβραμ s. of Abele 1332.	'Αμμώνιος tax-collector 1257. 13, 18.
'Αβραμ 1334.	'Αμοίς s. of Apollonius 1282. 9, 13.
'Αγαθίνος f. of Aurelius Serenus also called Sarapion 1276. 4.	'Αμοίς, Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ 'Α. s. of Psammis 1266. 6, 40.
'Αγαθὸς Δαίμων 1244. introd.	'Αμοίς s. of Theon and f. of Papontos 1282. 20.
'Αγαθὸς Δαίμων, Ἀρῆλιος 'Α. Δ. s. of Geminus 1276. 1, 25, 28.	'Ανδρόμαχος ex-dioecetes 1264. 9.
'Αγία 1349.	'Ανδρόνικος, Μάρκος Ἀρῆλιος 'Α. ὁ καὶ Μίθρης 1278. 1, 17.
'Αγχίστας 1288. 15.	'Ανιανός presbyter 1311.
'Αθανάσιος 1300. 6, 7.	'Ανίκητος, Ἀρῆλιος 'Α. pilot, son of Olbanus 1260. 3, 25.
'Αθηνᾶ ἡ καὶ Θεῆρις goddess 1268. 7.	'Ανοῦβις god 1256. 12.
'Ακυλίνος πρωτήκτωρ 1253. 17.	'Ανούπ 1325.
'Αλέξανδρος, Γάιος 'Ιούλιος 'Α. f. of Jul. Theon 1264. 5.	'Αντώνιος, Ἀρῆλιος 'Α. 1256. 24.
'Αμαεῖος 1326.	'Αν[. . .] 1299. 12.
'Αμαξ[.]ρις 1349.	'Απα Δόμνα 1350.
'Αμμων 1297. 2; 1298. 3, 21.	'Απα 'Ιούστος 1311.
'Αμμωνί[.] . . d. of Diogenes 1270. 18, 49, 58.	'Απία, Ἀρρηλία Σινθῶνις ἡ καὶ 'Α. d. of Dionysius 1268. 7, 10, 15.
'Αμμανία, Ἀρρηλία 'Α. d. of Techosous 1284. 12.	'Απία ἡ καὶ Διονυσία d. of Dionysius 1279. 3.
'Αμμωνιανός, Ἀρῆλιος 'Α. s. of Euporion 1280. 3, 8.	'Απία d. of Tapilous 1288. 18, 20, 22.
'Αμμώνιος 1275. 6; 1339.	'Απίων f. of Aurelia Meithous 1276. 1, 24.
'Αμμώνιος, Ἀρῆλιος 'Α. gymnasiarch-elect 1278. 4, 35.	'Απίων f. of Aur. Herodes 1274. 1.
'Αμμώνιος f. of Aur. Onnophris 1275. 2.	'Απίων, 'Ωρίων ὁ καὶ 'Α. basilicogrammateus 1259. 8.
'Αμμώνιος f. of Aurelius Silvanus 1260. 30.	

Ἀπολλωνάριον d. of Harpalus 1267. 3, 12.  
 Ἀπολλωνία, Διδύμη ἢ καὶ Ἄ. d. of Ptolema  
 1278. 5.  
 Ἀπολλωνία d. of Philon 1344.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος 1293. 23, 32.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος f. of Achillion also called Apollo-  
 nius 1274. 7.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀῦρ. Ἄ. banker 1284. 5, 19.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀῦρ. Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ Ἄ. gymnasi-  
 arch, s. of Achillion also called Apollonius  
 1274. 12.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀῦρ. . . . . os ὁ καὶ Ἄ. keeper of  
 the archives 1264. 1.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀχιλλίων ὁ καὶ Ἄ. s. of Apollo-  
 nius 1274. 7.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος f. of Heras 1267. 16.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος νεώτερος s. of Timagenes 1262. 10.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος f. of Phaniās 1330.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος (?) strategus 1258. 7.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος s. of Syrus and f. of Amois 1282. 9.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος f. of Zoilus 1267. 8.  
 Ἀπολλῶς 1331.  
 Ἀπολλῶς s. of Theon 1291. 11.  
 Ἀρβῆς f. of Hermanubis 1256. 11.  
 Ἄρειος f. of Aurelia Sarapias 1277. 1.  
 Ἄριστοῦς, Ἀρηλία Ἄ. d. of Aur. Herodes  
 1274. 1.  
 Ἄριστοῦς m. of Aur. [. . . . .]sis 1275. 6.  
 Ἄρπαῆσις s. of Panrumis 1281. 1, 4.  
 Ἄρπαλος f. of Apolloniarion 1267. 3.  
 Ἄρποκρατίων 1289. 2.  
 Ἄρποκρατίων, Ἀῦρ. Ἄ. strategus 1283. 1.  
 Ἄρσινοος, Ἀῦρ. Ἄ. s. of Tryphon 1273. 4, 21,  
 47, 50.  
 Ἄρνώτης, Ἀῦρ. Ἄ. priest, s. of Hermanubis  
 1256. 10.  
 Ἄρχελαος f. of Aur. Horus 1255. 4.  
 Asclepiades 1271. 8.  
 Ἄσκληπιῶδης 1252. verso 4.  
 Ἄτρῆς 1299. 17.  
 Ἀρηλία Ἄμμωνία d. of Techosous 1284. 12.  
 Ἀρηλία Ἄριστοῦς d. of Aur. Herodes 1274. 1.  
 Ἀρηλία Διονυσίου ἢ καὶ Χαιρημονίου 1278. 2, 16.  
 Ἀρηλία Θαῆσις d. of Eudaemon and m. of  
 Aurelia Tausiris 1273. 1, 20, 45.  
 Ἀρηλία Μαικιανή 1271. 2.  
 Ἀρηλία Μείθοῦς d. of Apion 1276. 1, 2, 24.  
 Ἀρηλία Σαραπίσις d. of Arius 1277. 1, 22.  
 Ἀρηλία Σινθῶσις ἢ καὶ Ἄπιῦ d. of Dionysius  
 1268. 7, 10, 15.

Ἀρηλία Τασεῦς d. of Aur. Petosiris 1268. 8.  
 Ἀρηλία Ταυσίρις d. of Aurelia Thaësis 1273. 3.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἄγαθὸς Δαίμων s. of Geminus 1276.  
 1, 25, 28.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἄμμωνιανός s. of Euporion 1280.  
 3, 8.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἄμμώνιος gymnasiarch-elect 1278. 4,  
 35.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἀνδρόνικος, Μάρκος Ἀῦρ. Ἄνδ. ὁ καὶ  
 Μίθρης 1278. 1, 17.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἄνίκητος pilot, s. of Olbanus 1260.  
 3, 25.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἀνώσιος 1256. 24.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἀπολλώνιος banker 1284. 5, 19.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἄπ[. .]ρ[.] 1283. 22.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἄρποκρατίων strategus 1283. 1.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἄρσινοος s. of Tryphon 1273. 4, 21,  
 47, 50.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἄρνώτης priest, s. of Hermanubis  
 1256. 10.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἀφῶγχις s. of Heraclas, προστάτης  
 1275. 3.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἀχιλλεύς 1283. 19.  
 Ἀρηλίος Δημητριάδης decaprotus 1260. 9.  
 Ἀρηλίος Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος gymnasi-  
 arch, s. of Achillion also called Apollonius  
 1274. 12.  
 Ἀρηλίος Διονύσιος strategus of the Prosopite  
 nome 1301.  
 Ἀρηλίος Δίος s. of Aur. Horion 1296.  
 1, 21.  
 Ἀρηλίος Διόσκορος s. of Theon 1276. 27.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἐπιφάνιος s. of Joseph 1320.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἐρμῶγνης προστάτης, s. of Dionysius  
 1275. 4.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἑρακλείδης exegetes 1252. recto 16,  
 21, 44.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἑρακλείδης strategus 1252. recto 2,  
 20.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἑρακλείδης ὁ καὶ Λούκιος s. of Lucius  
 1274. 4.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἑρακλῆς senator, s. of Coelacius  
 1261. 4.  
 Ἀρηλίος Ἑρώδης ex-gymnasiarch, s. of Apion  
 1274. 1.  
 Ἀρηλίος Θέων s. of Ammonius also called  
 Aphunchis 1277. 3.  
 Ἀρηλίος Θέων ὁ καὶ Νεπωτιανός 1273. 2, 48.  
 Ἀρηλίος Θέων chief-priest 1252. recto 16, 22,  
 45.

- Ἀυρήλιος Θώνιος ὁ καὶ Θεαγένης exegetes **1252**.  
 recto 17, 21, 43.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Θώνιος priest, s. of Demetrius **1265**.  
 6, 26.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἰέραξ ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος strategus of the  
 Cynopolite nome **1254**. 1, 14.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Καλαῦμις comarch, s. of Petenouphis  
**1256**. 6, 23 (Καλααῦμις).  
 Ἀυρήλιος Κάστωρ **1286**. 13.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Κ. [. . .] comarch **1301**.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Λαμασᾶ[s] s. of Pepirius **1320**.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Μεγχιῆς comarch, s. of Theon **1254**.  
 17, 31, 33.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Νικοκλήης, Μάρκος Αὐρ. N. ex-gymnasi-  
 arch, s. of Zoilus **1274**. 3.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ὀνωφρίης προστάτης, s. of Ammonius  
**1275**. 1, 10, 23.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Παγῶχις s. of Ptolion **1280**. 18.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Παμῆα s. of Peter **1280**. 1, 15.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Παποντῶς comarch, s. of Theon  
**1255**. 3.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Πατερμουῦθις comarch, s. of Saprion  
**1256**. 5, 23.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Παρ( ) tax-collector, s. of Eut(ych )  
**1283**. 3.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Πετοσίρις f. of Aurelia Taseus **1268**.  
 5, 8, 14.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Πέτρος s. of Tauris **1254**. 25.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Σαραπάμων s. of Diogenes **1276**. 32.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Σαραπ[ ] **1306**.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Σεργήνος ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων s. of Agathinus  
**1276**. 3.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Σιλβανός s. of Ammonius **1260**. 29.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Σιλβανός comarch, s. of Panetbauis  
**1254**. 16.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Σιλβανός s. of Theon **1307**.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Φίλιππος ὁ καὶ Ὀρίων **1260**. 1.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ὀριγένης s. of Aur. Sarapias **1277**. 26.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ὀρίων f. of Aur. Dius **1296**. 1, 21.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ὀρος comarch, s. of Archelaus **1255**.  
 4.  
 Ἀυρήλιος [. . .] ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος keeper of  
 the archives **1264**. 1.  
 Ἀυρήλιος [. . .] σις προστάτης, s. of Philotas  
**1275**. 5.  
 Ἀυρήλιος [. . .] προστάτης, s. of Ammonius  
**1275**. 6.  
 Ἀυρήλιος [ ] comarch **1301**.  
 Ἀυρήλιος [ ] **1268**. 3.  
 Ἀφθόμιος s. of Hesychius **1303**.  
 Ἀφοῦς **1338**.  
 Ἀφοῦς κεφαλαιωτῆς **1330**.  
 Ἀφύγχις, Ἀμμώνιος ὁ καὶ Ἀ. f. of Aur. Theon  
**1277**. 4.  
 Ἀφύγχις, Ἀυρήλιος Ἀ. προστάτης, s. of Heraclas  
**1275**. 3.  
 Ἀφύγχις f. of Tazoilas **1287**. 17.  
 Ἀχιλλεύς, Ἀυρήλιος Ἀ. **1283**. 19.  
 Ἀχιλλεύς village-scribe, s. of Proetus **1281**. 15.  
 Ἀχιλλίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος s. of Apollonius  
 and f. of Aur. Dionysius **1274**. 7.  
 Βάλλαρος f. of Psammiss **1266**. 7, 10.  
 Βασιλεύς praefect **1277**. introd.  
 Βῆσις god **1272**. 10.  
 Γαῖα **1296**. 17.  
 Γαϊανός assistant of the praepositus **1253**. 19.  
 Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀλέξανδρος f. of Julius Theon  
**1264**. 5.  
 Γελάσιος **1339**.  
 Γέριμος f. of Aur. Agathodaemon **1276**. 1, 29.  
 Γερμανία **1349**.  
 Γουατᾶς **1298**. 2, 21.  
 Γοῦνθος **1298**. 10, 13.  
 Δαμόστρατος f. of Castor **1298**. 12.  
 Δημητρία m. of Aur. Arsinoüs **1273**. 4.  
 Δημητριανός, Ἀυρήλιος Δ. decaprotus **1260**. 9.  
 Δημήτριος f. of Aur. Thonius **1265**. 6, 18.  
 Δημήτριος f. of Didymion **1279**. 14.  
 Δημήτριος πραγματευτής **1257**. 5, 9.  
 Δημήτριος ὁ καὶ Φα[.] . . ηδ( ) ex-exegetes  
**1262**. 4.  
 Διδύμη **1294**. 1, 19.  
 Διδύμη ἡ καὶ Ἀπολλωνία d. of Ptolema **1278**. 5.  
 Διδύμη ἡ καὶ Τσενφατρῆς m. of Apollonius the  
 younger **1262**. 12.  
 Διδυμίων s. of Demetrius **1279**. 14.  
 Δίδυμος **1294**. 5.  
 Δίδυμος, Ἀυρήλιος Ἰέραξ ὁ καὶ Δ. strategus of  
 the Cynopolite nome **1254**. 1, 14.  
 Δίδυμος f. of Epicrates **1278**. 9.  
 Δίδυμος sitologus, s. of Pausiris **1259**. 6.  
 Δίδυμος strategus **1259**. 1.  
 Δίδυμος, Τιμαγένης ὁ καὶ Δ. f. of Apollonius  
 the younger **1262**. 11.  
 Διεμοῦς d. of Colluthus **1272**. 25.  
 Διογένης **1279**. 25.  
 Διογένης f. of Ammon . . . **1270**. 19.

Διογένης f. of Aur. Sarapammon **1276. 33.**  
 Διογένης charioteer, s. of Heras **1287. 5, 11, 18.**  
 Διογένης comes **1335.**  
 Διογένης f. of Diogenis **1276. 9.**  
 Διογένης ὁ καὶ Ἑρμαῖος city-scribe **1263. 1.**  
 Διογένης s. of Sarapion **1316.**  
 Διογένης s. of Theon **1270. 20.**  
 Διογένης, Τιβέριος Κλαυδῖος Δ. ex-cosmetes, f. of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes **1284. 8.**  
 Διογένης, Τιβέριος Κλαυδῖος Δ. s. of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes **1284. 7.**  
 Διογενίς d. of Diogenes **1276. 8.**  
 Διονυσία, Ἀπία ἡ καὶ Δ. d. of Dionysius **1279. 3.**  
 Διονυσίας, Ἀνρ. Δ. ἡ καὶ Χαρημονίς **1278. 2, 16.**  
 Διονύσιος **1295. 1, 22 ; 1305.**  
 Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ Ἄμῖς s. of Psammis and f. of Psammis **1266. 6, 40.**  
 Διονύσιος f. of Apia also called Dionysia **1279. 4.**  
 Διονύσιος, Ἀνρ. Δ. ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος gymnasiarch, s. of Achillion also called Apollonius **1274. 12.**  
 Διονύσιος, Ἀνρ. Δ. strategus **1301.**  
 Διονύσιος f. of Aur. Hermogenes **1275. 4.**  
 Διονύσιος f. of Aurelia Sinthonis also called Apia **1268. 7.**  
 Διονύσιος βοηθός **1257. 8.**  
 Διονύσιος, Πετρώσιος Δ. strategus **1279. 1.**  
 Διονυσσοθέων gymnasiarch, f. of Ptolema **1278. 8.**  
 Διονυσσοθεανίς, Δητοδωρίς ἡ καὶ Δ. d. of Ptolema **1278. 6.**  
 Διόνυσος god **1283. 17, 21.**  
 Δῖος **1298. 15.**  
 Δῖος, Ἀνρ. Δ. s. of Aur. Horion **1296. 1, 21.**  
 Διόσκορος **1297. 1 ; 1321.**  
 Διόσκορος, Ἀνρ. Δ. s. of Theon **1276. 27.**  
 Διόσκορος freedman of Sarapion **1263. 3.**  
 Διόσκορος sitologus, s. of Onnophris **1259. 5.**  
 Διόσκορος, Φλαούσιος Δ. **1305.**  
 Διοσκουρίδης **1347.**  
 Διοσκουρίδης, Κλαυδῖος Δ. ὁ καὶ Χαίρειας strategus **1255. 1.**  
 Διο[ ] f. of Sarapion **1263. 5.**  
 Δόμνα, Ἄπα Δ. **1350.**  
 Δωρόθεος **1300. 7.**  
 Ἐπικράτης s. of Didymus **1278. 9.**  
 Ἐπίμαχος decaprotus **1257. 1, 2, 15.**  
 Ἐπίμαχος ex-gymnasiarch, s. of Sarapion **1262. 3.**

Ἐπιφάνιος, Ἀνρ. Ἐ. s. of Joseph **1320.**  
 Ἑρμαῖος, Διογένης ὁ καὶ Ἐ. city-scribe **1263. 1.**  
 Ἑρμανοῦβις priest, s. of Harbes and f. of Aur. Haruotes **1256. 11.**  
 Ἑρμᾶς **1292. 9.**  
 Ἑρμῖος f. of Panus **1328.**  
 Ἑρμογένης **1292. 1.**  
 Ἑρμογένης, Ἀνρ. Ἐ. προστάτης, s. of Dionysius **1275. 4.**  
 Ἑσενεύς m. of Tekosis **1282. 12.**  
 Ἑσοῦρ f. of Peter **1300. 10.**  
 Εὐδαίμων **1348.**  
 Εὐδαίμων f. of Aurelia Thaësis **1273. 1.**  
 Εὐδαίμων f. of Sarapion **1253. 11.**  
 Εὐπορίων f. of Aur. Ammonianus **1280. 3.**  
 Εὐτροπία **1334.**  
 Εὐτ(υχ ) f. of Aur. Pat( ) **1283. 3.**  
 Ἐψάτης **1299. 16.**

Firmus, Valerius F. praefect **1271. 7.**

Ζεὺς god **1265. 8.**  
 Ζωῖλος adjutant **1253. 12.**  
 Ζωῖλος s. of Apollonius and f. of Zoilus **1267. 7.**  
 Ζωῖλος βοηθός **1342.**  
 Ζωῖλος, Ἰούλιος Θέων ὁ καὶ Ζ. s. of Gaius Julius Alexander **1264. 5.**  
 Ζωῖλος f. of M. Aur. Nicocles **1274. 4.**  
 Ζωῖλος s. of Theon **1316.**  
 Ζωῖλος s. of Zoilus and f. of Horion **1267. 7, 14.**  
 Ζωῖς **1291. 1.**

Ἡλιόδωρος keeper of the archives **1268. 2.**  
 Ἥρα goddess **1265. 8.**  
 Ἡραῖς **1300. 4.**  
 Ἡραῖς m. of Aurelia Meithous **1276. 2.**  
 Ἡραῖς m. of Aur. Eudaemon **1273. 1.**  
 Ἡραῖσκος **1299. 11.**  
 Ἡρακλᾶς f. of Aur. Aphunchis **1275. 3.**  
 Ἡρακλείδης, Ἀνρ. Ἡ. ὁ καὶ Λούκιος s. of Lucius **1274. 4.**  
 Ἡρακλείδης **1270. 10.**  
 Ἡρακλείδης, Ἀνρ. Ἡ. exegetes **1252. recto 16, 21, 44.**  
 Ἡρακλείδης, Ἀνρ. Ἡ. strategus **1252. recto 2, 20.**  
 Ἡρακλείδης f. of Heras **1282. 6.**  
 Ἡράκλειος s. of Horus **1281. 11.**  
 Ἡράκλειος κεφαλαιωτής **1330.**



- Ἡράκλειος s. of Plutarchus **1252**. verso 26.  
 Ἡράκλειος *συστάτης* **1328**.  
 Ἡράκληος praefect **1313**.  
 Ἡρακλῆς, Ἀῦρ. Ἡ. senator, s. of Coelacius **1261**. 4.  
 Ἡρακλοῦς m. of Aur. Hermogenes **1275**. 5.  
 Ἡρακλοῦς m. of Sarapion **1317**.  
 Ἡρακλ( ) **1296**. 13.  
 Ἡρᾶς d. of Apollonius **1267**. 16.  
 Ἡρᾶς s. of Calathus **1272**. 14, 17, 20.  
 Ἡρᾶς f. of Diogenes **1287**. 5.  
 Ἡρᾶς d. of Heraclides and m. of Thnas **1282**. 5.  
 Ἡρᾶς f. of Heras **1268**. 3.  
 Ἡρᾶς s. of Heras **1268**. 3.  
 Ἡρᾶς d. of Hera[ **1306**.  
 Ἡρα[ f. of Heras **1306**.  
 Ἡρώδης, Ἀῦρ. Ἡ. ex-gymnasiarch, s. of Apion and f. of Aurelia Aristous **1274**. 1.  
 Ἡρώδης f. of Ptolemaeus **1270**. 2, 17.  
 Ἡσύχιος (Ἡσιχιος Pap.) **1303**.
- Θαῆσις, Ἀῦρῆλια Θ. d. of Eudaemon and m. of Aurelia Tausiris **1273**. 1, 20, 45.  
 Θαῖσοις m. of Aur. Onnophris **1275**. 3.  
 Θατῆς m. of [ . ]tris **1256**. 17.  
 Θεαγένης, Ἀῦρ. Θῶνιος ὁ καὶ Θ. **1252**. recto 17, 21, 43.  
 Θεόδωρος **1297**. 5, 14.  
 Θεόφιλος **1323**.  
 Θέρμιος centurion **1253**. 8.  
 Θερμοῦθιον d. of Plution **1266**. 16, 33.  
 Θερμοῦθις **1296**. 12, 19.  
 Θέων **1262**. introd.; **1293**. 1; **1300**. 3; **1348**.  
 Θέων f. of Amois **1282**. 20.  
 Θέων f. of Apollon **1291**. 11.  
 Θέων, Ἀῦρ. Θ. s. of Ammonius also called Aphunchis **1277**. 3.  
 Θέων, Ἀῦρ. Θ. chief-priest **1252**. recto 16, 22, 45.  
 Θέων, Ἀῦρ. Θ. ὁ καὶ Νεπωτιανός **1273**. 2, 48.  
 Θέων f. of Aur. Dioscorus **1276**. 28.  
 Θέων f. of Aur. Menches **1254**. 17.  
 Θέων f. of Aur. Papontos **1255**. 3.  
 Θέων f. of Aur. Silvanus **1307**.  
 Θέων f. of Claudia **1267**. 9.  
 Θέων f. of Diogenes **1270**. 20.  
 Θέων, Ἰούλιος Θ. ὁ καὶ Ζώιλος s. of Gaius Julius Alexander **1264**. 4.  
 Θέων ὁ καὶ Πλούταρχος strategus of the Tanite nome **1257**. 4, 16.  
 Θέων f. of Theon and Zoilus **1316**.  
 Θεών s. of Theon **1316**.  
 Θεωνᾶς s. of Isidorus **1269**. 2, 13, 34 (Θέων).  
 Θεωνίς d. of Horus **1276**. 8.  
 Θνᾶς d. of Petosorapis **1282**. 5, 19, 25, 29.  
 Θεῆρις, Ἀθηνᾶ ἡ καὶ Θ. goddess **1268**. 7.  
 Θωμαχαράτης s. of Paapis **1282**. 7.  
 Θῶνιος, Ἀῦρ. Θ. exegetes **1252**. recto 17, 21, 43.  
 Θῶνιος, Ἀῦρ. Θ. priest, s. of Demetrius **1265**. 6, 26.  
 Θῶνις **1299**. 4.  
 Θῶνις s. of Petosorapis and f. of Tekosis **1282**. 11.
- Ἰέραξ **1286**. introd.; **1327**.  
 Ἰέραξ, Ἀῦρ. Ἰ. ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος strategus of the Cynopolite nome **1254**. 1, 14.  
 Ἰλις **1297**. 12.  
 Ἰούλιος, Γάιος Ἰ. Ἀλέξανδρος f. of Julius Theon also called Zoilus **1264**. 5.  
 Ἰούλιος Θεών ὁ καὶ Ζώιλος s. of G. Julius Alexander **1264**. 4.  
 Ἰούστος, Ἀπα Ἰ. **1311**.  
 Ἰσᾶς f. of Sarapas and Sarapous **1269**. 10, 19, 24, 35.  
 Ἰσιδωρος βοηθὸς πραιποσίτου **1253**. 16.  
 Ἰσιδωρος f. of Theonas **1269**. 2, 13.  
 Ἰσίων s. of Psais **1299**. 1, 21.  
 Ἰσχυρᾶς (= Ἰσχυρίων) **1292**. 1, 17.  
 Ἰσχυρίων (= Ἰσχυρᾶς) **1291**. 1, 15.  
 Ἰωάννης **1325**; **1335-6**; **1341**.  
 Ἰώσηπος **1281**. 9.  
 Ἰωσήφ f. of Aur. Epiphanius **1320**.
- Κάλαθος f. of Heras **1272**. 14.  
 Καλαῦμις, Ἀῦρ. Κ. s. of Petenouphis **1256**. 6, (Καλααῦμις) 23.  
 Κάμοκος **1299**. 15.  
 Κάρπος **1294**. 8.  
 Κάστωρ **1293**. 38.  
 Κάστωρ, Ἀῦρ. Κ. **1286**. 13.  
 Κάστωρ s. of Damostratus **1298**. 11.  
 Κανῆτιος (l. Κύντ.?) Παυλίος praefect **1266**. 25.  
 Κέλερ archidicastes **1270**. 5, 12.  
 Κλαυδία d. of Theon and m. of Zoilus **1267**. 8.  
 Κλαύδιος Διοσκοουρίδης ὁ καὶ Χαυρέας strategus **1255**. 1.  
 Κλαύδιος, Τιβέριος Κ. Διογένης ex-cosmetes, f. of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes **1284**. 8.  
 Κλαύδιος, Τιβέριος Κ. Διογένης s. of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes **1284**. 7.

Κλέων 1294. 9.  
 Κοιλίκιος f. of Aur. Heracles 1261. 4.  
 Κόλλουθος 1291. 6.  
 Κόλλουθος f. of Diemous 1272. 26.  
 Κόλλουθος λεγ. Φαλοῦς, f. of Psatres 1293. 4 I.  
 Κολλοῦχis 1296. 14.  
 Κοπρεᾶς 1333.  
 Κοπρεύς s. of Sarapammon 1275. 8, 11, 21, 24.  
 Κόραξ, Ὀφελᾶς ὁ καὶ Κ. 1279. 2, 29.  
 Κοσρῆς monk 1338.  
 Κύριλλος, Οὔλπιος K. catholicus 1260. 7.  
 Κυριλλοῦς 1300. 8.

Λαιτῶριος νόμος 1274. 13.  
 Λαμασᾶ[ς], Ἀῦρ. Λ. s. of Pepirius 1320.  
 Λαμ . . σων 1322.  
 Λευκάδιος 1324.  
 Λεύκαντος (l. Λεύκανθος ?) f. of Philoxenus 1338.  
 Λητοδωρίς ἡ καὶ Διονυσοθεωνίς d. of Ptolema  
 1278. 6.  
 Λητώ goddess 1256. 12.  
 Λούκιος, Ἀῦρ. Ἡρακλείδης ὁ καὶ Λ. s. of Lucius  
 1274. 4.  
 Λούκιος f. of Aur. Heraclides also called  
 Lucius 1274. 5.  
 Λουκρήτιος Νεῖλος strategus 1262. 1.

Μαικιανή, Ἀρηλία M. 1271. 2.  
 Μακρόβιος, Φλ. Παράνιος ὁ καὶ M. logistes 1265.  
 5; 1303.  
 Μάξιμος 1257. 16.  
 Μαρία m. of Peter 1300. 2, 11.  
 Μαρκία m. of Aur. Sinthonis also called  
 Ἀρία 1268. 7.  
 Μάρκος Ἀρήλιος Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ καὶ Μίθρης 1278.  
 1, 17.  
 Μάρκος Ἀρήλιος Νικοκλῆς ex-gymnasiarch, s. of  
 Zoilus 1274. 3.  
 Μάρκος f. of Saras 1293. 5, 30.  
 Μαρτύριος 1328.  
 Μαρτύριος σύμμαχος 1323.  
 Μεγχῆς, Ἀῦρ. M. comarch, s. of Theon 1254.  
 17, 31, 33.  
 Μείθοῦς, Ἀρηλία M. d. of Apion 1276. 1, 2, 24.  
 Μέλανος 1296. 15.  
 Μηνῆς 1322.  
 Μιάπις 1324.  
 Μίθρης, Μάρκος Ἀῦρ. Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ καὶ M. 1278.  
 1, 17.  
 Μῶρος 1288. 13, 20, 25, 26.

Νειλᾶς 1345.  
 Νεῖλος 1337.  
 Νεῖλος, Λουκρήτιος N. strategus 1262. 1.  
 Νεπωτιανός, Ἀῦρ. Θέων ὁ καὶ N. 1273. 2, 48.  
 Νεχθενίβις s. of Horus 1287. 22.  
 Νίκανδρος basilicogrammateus 1266. 27.  
 Νίκη m. of Aur. Agathodaemon 1276. 1.  
 Νικοκλῆς, Μάρκος Ἀῦρ. N. ex-gymnasiarch, s.  
 of Zoilus 1274. 3.  
 Νόννα 1288. 16; 1300. 4.  
 Νόννος 1337.

Ὀλβανός (= Ὀρβ.) f. of Aur. Anicetus 1260.  
 3, 25.  
 Ὀμαία 1300. 4.  
 Ὀνωφῆρις, Ἀῦρ. Ὁ. προστάτης, s. of Ammonius  
 1275. 1, 10, 23.  
 Ὀνωφῆρις f. of Dioscorus 1259. 5.  
 Οὔαλεριανός 1329.  
 Οὔαλέριος Πομπηριανός praefect 1252. recto 2,  
 28.  
 Οὔαλέριος Φίρμος praefect 1271. 1. Valerius  
 Firmus 1271. 7.  
 Οὔλπιος Κύριλλος catholicus 1260. 7.

Παῦπις f. of Thompachrates 1282. 8.  
 Παγῶχis, Ἀῦρ. Π. s. of Ptolion 1280. 18.  
 Παθερμουῖθις 1348.  
 Παλεοῦς 1326.  
 Παλλαδίας 1288. 8, 11.  
 Παμῆα, Ἀῦρ. Π. s. of Peter 1280. 1, 15.  
 Πάμφιλος basilicogrammateus 1266. 2.  
 Πανάρης 1269. 24, 27.  
 Πανετβαῦις f. of Aur. Silvanus 1254. 16.  
 Πάνος s. of Hermias 1328.  
 Πανρῦμις f. of Harpaësis 1281. 4.  
 Παποντῶς s. of Amois 1282. 19, 25, 27.  
 Παποντῶς, Ἀῦρ. Π. comarch, s. of Theon  
 1255. 3.  
 Παποντῶς f. of Ptolemaeus 1287. 8.  
 Παράνιος, Φλαοῦς Π. ὁ καὶ Μακρόβιος logistes  
 1265. 5; 1303.  
 Πατερμουῖθις 1296. 11.  
 Πατερμουῖθις, Ἀῦρ. Π. comarch, s. of Saprion  
 1256. 5, 23.  
 Πατ( ), Ἀῦρ. Π. tax-collector, s. of Eut(ych )  
 1283. 3.  
 Παυλῖνος, Καύντιος (?) Π. praefect 1266. 25.  
 Παῦλος 1324.  
 Παῦλος ὑπηρέτης 1328.

- Πανσιρᾶς f. of Charmus **1267. 6.**  
 Πανσίρις f. of Didymus **1259. 6.**  
 Πεμπέμ **1270. 29.**  
 Πεπίριος f. of Aur. Lamasas **1320.**  
 Πεπενοῦφίς f. of Aur. Kalatimis **1256. 6.**  
 Πεποσίρις, Ἀὐρ. Π. s. of Taseus and f. of Aurelia Taseus **1268. 5, 8, 14.**  
 Πεποσορᾶπις f. of Thnas and Tekosis **1282. 5, 8.**  
 Πεποσορᾶπις f. of Thonis **1282. 11.**  
 Πέτρος **1341.**  
 Πέτρος, Ἀὐρ. Π. s. of Tauris **1254. 25.**  
 Πέτρος f. of Aur. Pamea **1280. 1, 15.**  
 Πέτρος βοηθός (1) **1322;** (2) **1329.**  
 Πέτρος s. of Esour **1300. 10.**  
 Πέτρος s. of Maria **1300. 2, 12.**  
 Πετρώμιος Διονύσιος strategus **1279. 1.**  
 Πλουσία (Πλουση Παρ.) **1300. 4.**  
 Πλουτάρχη **1293. 31.**  
 Πλούταρχος, Θέων ὁ καὶ Π. strategus of the Tanite nome **1257. 4.**  
 Πλούταρχος f. of Heraclaus **1252. verso 26.**  
 Πλούταρχος f. of Plutonium **1266. 21.**  
 Πλουτίων s. of Plutarchus and f. of Thermouthion **1266. 20.**  
 Πλουτίων s. of Psammis **1266. 33.**  
 Πολυκλείδας **1270. 23.**  
 Πομπηνιαῖος, Οὐαλέριος Π. praefect **1252. recto 2, 28.**  
 Πόπλιος **1287. 7.**  
 Ποσιδώνιος ὁ καὶ Τριᾶδελφος **1259. 2.**  
 Πρίσκος **1341.**  
 Πρόιτος f. of Achilles **1281. 14.**  
 Πτολέμα d. of Dionysiotheon and m. of Didyme and Letodoris **1278. 7.**  
 Πτολεμαῖος **1295. 5; 1342.**  
 Πτολεμαῖος gymnasiarch **1333.**  
 Πτολεμαῖος s. of Herodes **1270. 2, 16, 46.**  
 Πτολεμαῖος s. of Papontos **1287. 8.**  
 Πτολλαρίων f. of Ammonius **1252. verso 32.**  
 Πτολλίων f. of Aur. Pagochis **1280. 18.**  
 Πτολ . . . **1280. 20.**
- Σαπρίων f. of Aur. Paternouthis **1256. 5.**  
 Σαραπάμμων **1252. verso 26.**  
 Σαραπάμμων, Ἀὐρ. Σ. s. of Diogenes **1276. 32.**  
 Σαραπάμμων f. of Copreus **1275. 8.**  
 Σαραπάς **1294. 17.**  
 Σαραπάς s. of Isas **1269. 7, 17.**  
 Σαραπιᾶς **1262. introd.; 1268. 19.**  
 Σαραπιᾶς m. of Apolloniarion **1267. 4.**
- Σαραπιᾶς, Ἀὐρηλία Σ. d. of Arius and m. of Aur. Origenes **1277. 1, 22.**  
 Σαραπίων **1244. introd.; 1256. 2; 1272. 2, 26; 1287. 20; 1349.**  
 Σαραπίων, Ἀὐρ. Σερήνος ὁ καὶ Σ. s. of Agathinus **1276. 3.**  
 Σαραπίων banker, s. of Eudaemon **1253. 11.**  
 Σαραπίων f. of Diogenes **1316.**  
 Σαραπίων s. of Dio[ and f. of Sarapion **1263. 4.**  
 Σαραπίων f. of Epimachus **1262. 3.**  
 Σαραπίων exegetes **1269. 4, 12.**  
 Σαραπίων s. of Heraclous **1317.**  
 Σαραπίων s. of Sarapion **1263. 4.**  
 Σαραπίων scribe of the record-office **1270. 11.**  
 Σαραπίων, Φλαούιος Σ. centurion **1261. 3.**  
 Σαραποῦς d. of Isas **1269. 8, 17.**  
 Σαραπ[ , Ἀὐρ. Σ. **1306.**  
 Σαρᾶς **1292. 8.**  
 Σαρᾶς s. of Marcus **1293. 5, 12, 19, 30.**  
 Σαρμάτης **1297. 1, 23.**  
 Σεκοῦνδος **1258. 2.**  
 Σεουηριανός praepositus **1261. 8.**  
 Σεπτίμιος Χαϊρήμων **1283. 15.**  
 Σεραπίων **1321.**  
 Σερήνος **1335.**  
 Σερήνος, Ἀὐρ. Σ. ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων s. of Agathinus **1276. 3.**  
 Σερήνος basilicogrammateus **1262. 2.**  
 Σιλβανός, Ἀὐρ. Σ. s. of Ammonius **1260. 29.**  
 Σιλβανός, Ἀὐρ. Σ. comarch, s. of Panetbauis **1254. 16, 31, 32.**  
 Σιλβανός, Ἀὐρ. Σ. s. of Theon **1307.**  
 Σιωθῶνις m. of Ammon[ **1270. 19.**  
 Σιωθῶνις, Ἀὐρηλία Σ. ἡ καὶ Ἀπία d. of Dionysius **1268. 7, 10, 15.**  
 Σοῆρις m. of Theonas **1269. 3, 14 (Σοηροῦς).**  
 Σοηροῦς. See Σοῆρις.  
 Σουτῶριος Σωσίβιος strategus **1266. 26.**  
 Σύρα m. of Ision **1299. 1, 21.**  
 Συρίων amphodogrammateus **1267. 1.**  
 Σύρος f. of Apollonius **1282. 9.**  
 Σώζων **1253. 13.**  
 Σωσίβιος, Σουτῶριος Σ. strategus **1266. 26.**
- Τααρ[ m. of Aurelia Taseus **1268. 8.**  
 Ταζωιλᾶς d. of Aphunchis **1287. 16.**  
 Ταμεία m. (?) of Aur. Dius **1296. 9.**  
 Ταπιλοῦς m. of Apia **1288. 18, 21.**  
 Τάπολος **1286. 2.**

- Ταποσιριάς m. of Aur. Serenus also called Sarapion 1276. 4.  
 Τασεῦς, Ἀύρηλία T. d. of Aur. Petosiris 1268. 8.  
 Τασεῦς m. of Aur. Petosiris 1268. 6.  
 Τασοῖς 1295. 1, 22.  
 Ταῦρις m. of Aur. Peter 1254. 26.  
 Ταυρίσκος πρωτήκτωρ 1253. 14, 17.  
 Ταυσίρις 1294. 16.  
 Ταυσίρις, Ἀύρηλία T. d. of Aurelia Thaësis 1273. 3.  
 Ταυσίρις m. of Aur. Aphunchis 1275. 4.  
 Ταχῶσις 1299. 13.  
 Τεκῶσις m. of Amois 1282. 10.  
 Τεκῶσις d. of Petosorapis and m. of Thompachrates 1282. 8.  
 Τεκῶσις d. of Thonis 1282. 11.  
 Τευθεῖς 1287. 21.  
 Τεχωσοῦς m. of Aurelia Ammonia 1284. 13.  
 Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Διογένης ex-cosmetes, f. of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes 1284. 8.  
 Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Διογένης s. of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes 1284. 7.  
 Τιμαγένης ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος f. of Apollonius 1262. 11.  
 Τιμπεσοῦρις 1296. 16.  
 Τίρων 1260. 5.  
 Τρεφεροῦς 1296. 10.  
 Τρεφερσοῖς 1269. 31.  
 Τριάδελφος 1299. 14.  
 Τριάδελφος ἀρχιπυρρέτης 1253. 21.  
 Τριάδελφος, Ποσιδώνιος ὁ καὶ T. ship-master 1259. 2.  
 Τρύφων f. of Aur. Arsinoüs 1273. 4.  
 Τρωίλος 1298. 15.  
 Τσενφατρῆς, Διδύμη ἡ καὶ T. m. of Apollonius 1262. 12.  
 Valerius Firmus, praefect 1271. 7.  
 Φαλοῦς, Πατρῆς s. of Colluthus Φ. λεγόμενος 1293. 41.  
 Φανίας s. of Apollonius 1330.  
 Φα[.] . . ηδ( ), Δημήτριος ὁ καὶ Φ. ex-exegetes 1262. 4.  
 Φιλέας ex-magistrate of Alexandria 1252. recto 18, 30, 34.  
 Φίλιππος, Ἀύρ. Φ. ὁ καὶ Ὀρίων strategus 1260. 1.  
 Φιλόξενος 1336.  
 Φιλόξενος s. of Leucantus 1338.  
 Φιλόξενος οἰνοχειριστής 1326-7.  
 Φιλουμένη 1293. 1, 43.  
 Φιλοῦς 1296. 10.  
 Φίλων f. of Apollonia 1344.  
 Φιλώτας f. of Aur. . . . . sis 1275. 5.  
 Φίρμος, Οὐαλέριος Φ. praefect 1271. 1. Valerius Firmus 1271. 7.  
 Φλαοῦιος Παράνιος ὁ καὶ Μακρόβιος logistes 1265. 5; 1303.  
 Φλαοῦιος Σαραπίων centurion 1261. 3.  
 Φοιβάμμων 1300. 4.  
 Φωκίων strategus 1270. 1.  
 Χαιρέας, Κλαύδιος Διοσκουρίδης ὁ καὶ X. strategus 1255. 1.  
 Χαρημονίς, Ἀύρηλία Διονυσιάς ἡ καὶ X. 1278. 2, 16.  
 Χαρήμων, Σεπτίμιος X. 1283. 15.  
 Χάρμος s. of Pausiras 1267. 5.  
 Ψᾶις f. of Ision 1299. 1, 21.  
 Ψάμμυς s. of Ballarus and f. of Dionysius also called Amois 1266. 7, 9.  
 Ψάμμυς s. of Dionysius also called Amois and f. of Plution 1266. 40.  
 Ψατρῆς s. of Colluthus Φαλοῦς λεγόμενος 1293. 40.  
 Ψέκη 1299. 17.  
 Ὀκεαγός 1305.  
 Ὀρυγένης, Ἀύρ. Ὀ. s. of Aurelia Sarapias 1277. 26.  
 Ὀρίων 1296. 19; 1299. 11.  
 Ὀρίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπίων basilicogrammateus 1259. 8.  
 Ὀρίων, Ἀύρ. Ὀ. comarch, s. of Archelaus 1255. 4.  
 Ὀρίων, Ἀύρ. Φίλιππος ὁ καὶ Ὀ. strategus 1260. 1.  
 Ὀρίων, Ἀύρ. Ὀ. f. of Aur. Dius 1296. 1, 22.  
 Ὀρίων s. of Zoilus 1267. 15.  
 Ὄρος f. of Heracleus 1281. 11.  
 Ὄρος f. of Nechthenibis 1287. 23.  
 Ὄρος f. of Theonis 1276. 8.  
 Ὀφελᾶς ὁ καὶ Κύραξ 1279. 2, 29.

## VI. GEOGRAPHICAL.

## (a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, CITIES, TOPARCHIES.

- Αἴγυπτος 1253. 2; 1271. 1; 1313.  
 Ἀλεξάνδρεια 1252. recto 20, 30; 1274. 9;  
 1288. 17, 34; 1291. 9; 1295. 12. ἡ  
 λαμπροτάτη Ἄ. 1254. 6, 22; 1260. 13.  
 Φάρος 1271. 3.  
 Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρα 1274. 8.  
 Ἄντιοεὺς 1268. 4.  
 Ἀπολλωνοπολίτης (νομός) 1293. 43.  
 Ἀσιαστικός 1300. 10.  
 Βαβυλῶν 1261. 7.  
 Διοπολίτης (νομός) 1255. 2.  
 Ἑλληνικός 1260. 5.  
 Ἑπτανομία 1302.  
 Θηβαῖς 1282. 4.  
 Θμοισεφῶ τοπαρχία 1262. 13; 1285. 122.  
 Κυνοπολίτης (νομός) 1254. 1, 15; 1256. 4  
 (Κυνοπολ. ἄνω), 16 (Κυωνοπολ.).  
 μητροπολίτης 1306.  
 μητροπολιτικός 1283. 4.  
 Νέα πόλις 1259. 3, 10.  
 νομός 1252. verso 7; 1257. 2, 5, 18; 1259.  
 9; 1261. 3; 1301; 1307; 1320.  
 Ὀξυρυγχίτης (νομός) 1252. recto 3, 20, verso  
 7; 1255. 2; 1257. 1; 1259. 1; 1260. 2;  
 1262. 1; 1265. 5; 1270. 6, 48; 1275.  
 25; 1283. 2; 1298. 17; 1303; 1320.  
 Ὀξυρυγχιτικός σταθμός 1273. 7.  
 Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις 1253. 3; 1257. 14; 1274.  
 2; 1278. 5, 9; 1284. 6, 9, 13. ἡ λαμπρὰ  
 καὶ λαμπροτάτη Ὀξ. πόλ. 1252. recto 23;  
 1260. 4; 1261. 4; 1264. 2, 6; 1280. 1.  
 ἡ λαμπρὰ Ὀξ. πόλ. 1320.  
 Ὀξυρύγχων πόλις 1258. 1; 1263. 6; 1267. 4;  
 1268. 6; 1269. 3, 14; 1270. 3, 17; 1273.  
 2; 1276. 2, 6; 1277. 5; 1279. 4; 1282.  
 4, 13, 22; 1287. 11, 19.  
 πᾶγος, ε πᾶγ. 1253. 19. ζ πᾶγ. 1253. 16.  
 πόλις = Alexandria 1270. 14. π. = Oxy-  
 rhynchus 1252. verso 2, 30, 36; 1263. 2;  
 1265. 7; 1267. 9; 1272. 3; 1273. 5;  
 1274. 4, 13; 1276. 4; 1280. 4; 1284.  
 10; 1346 (?).  
 Προσωπίτης (νομός) 1301.  
 Ῥωμαῖος 1264. 19; 1268. 9; 1274. 3; 1276.  
 3; 1277. 3.  
 Σιδηῆτις 1271. 2.  
 Τανίτης (νομός) 1257. 5.  
 τοπαρχία, ἄνω 1285. 51. ἀπηλιώτου 1285.  
 85. Θμοισεφῶ 1262. 13; 1285. 122. κάτω  
 1259. 6; 1285. 129. λιβός 1257. 1;  
 1285. 70. μέση 1260. 10; 1283. 5;  
 1285. 98.  
 Φάρος 1271. 3.

## (b) VILLAGES AND ἐποίκια.

1. *Oxyrhynchite*.

- Ἀδαῖον 1285. 86.  
 Ἀθ.χίς 1285. 58.  
 Ἀντεῖς 1285. 68.  
 Ἀρταπάτου 1285. 17, 110.  
 Ἀρχιβίου 1285. 64.  
 Ἀηηρίου ἐποίκιον 1322.  
 Δωσιθέου 1285. 46, 139.  
 Ἐπισήμου 1285. 55.  
 Ἡλεσῶις (?) 1252. recto 17, 25.  
 Ἡρακλείδου ἐποίκιον 1285. 72.  
 Ἡρακλείου 1260. 12; 1285. 9, 100.  
 Θῶλθις (Θμοισεφῶ τοπαρχίας) 1285. 123.  
 Θῶλθις (κάτω τοπ.) 1285. 48, 141.

Θῶλθις (μέσης τοπ.) 1285. 104.

Θῶσβις 1285. 52.

Θ[.] . . . [ 1285. 96.

Ἰέμη 1285. 98.

Ἰσεῖον Κάτω 1285. 39, 132.

Ἰσεῖον Παγγῆ 1255. 5; 1285. 56.

Ἰσεῖον Τρύφωνος 1285. 45, 138.

Ἰστρου 1285. 108.

Κερκεθῦρις 1285. 70.

Κερκεμοῦνις 1285. 66.

Κερκεῦρα 1285. 116.

Κερκευῶσις 1285. 23.

Κεσμούχις 1285. 124; 1342; 1347 (?).

Κόμα 1285. 106.

Κο[.]ου 1285. 135.

Λευκίον 1285. 82.

Ληρώνος 1285. 77.

Λίλη 1285. 92.

Μαστ . . τιφόρου 1285. 21, 114.

Μεγάλης Παρορίου ἐποίκιον 1327.

Μελανθίον 1285. 102.

Μερμέρθα 1285. 54.

Μονίμου 1285. 62.

Μουχινάξας 1285. 79.

Μουχναρῶ 1285. 44, 137.

Μούχις 1342.

Νεμέρα 1285. 112.

Νέσλα 1285. 61.

Νεσμίμις 1285. 57.

Νίγγρου 1285. 53.

Νόμου ἐποίκιον 1285. 101.

Ξενάρχου 1285. 60.

Οὐεσῶσβις ἐποίκιον 1326.

Παεῖμις 1285. 76.

Πακέρκη 1285. 89.

Παλώσις 1285. 127; 1342.

Πανευεί 1285. 74.

Παῶμις 1285. 122.

Πεενῶ 1283. 6.

Πεκτυέτου (?) 1312.

Πέλα 1285. 81.

Πετεμοῦνις 1285. 83.

Πετενοῦρις 1285. 119.

Πέτην 1285. 107.

Πετ . [.] . 1285. 51.

Πλελώ 1285. 111.

Ποσομπόις 1285. 85.

Που[.]εω 1285. 105.

Σαδάλου 1285. 59.

Σαραπίωνος Χαιρήμονος 1285. 93.

Σατύρου 1285. 95.

Σεναπῶθις 1285. 103.

Σεναῶ 1279. 9; 1285. 78.

Σεκεκλεύ 1285. 80.

Σενέπτα 1285. 120; 1287. 3.

Σενοκόμις 1285. 73.

Σεντώ 1285. 109.

Σενῦρις 1285. 63.

Σερῦφις 1285. 71.

Σέσφθα 1285. 136.

Σεφῶ 1285. 125.

Σιγκέφα 1285. 65.

Σιναρῦ 1281. 15; 1285. 134; 1339. Σινα-  
ριτικὸς 1281. 6.

Σοῦις 1275. 7; 1285. 47, 140.

Σύρων 1268. 3; 1285. 75.

Τααμπέμον 1285. 88.

Τακοκίλις 1285. 20, 113.

Τακόνα 1285. 130.

Ταλαῶ 1285. 131.

Ταλωπιτεῖ 1285. 24, 117.

Τανάις 1285. 99.

Τεξεί 1285. 118.

Τερῦθις 1285. 87.

Τῆις 1262. 13, 19; 1285. 126; 1342.

Τύχιν Φαγ( ) 1285. 129.

Φαβῶου 1285. 90.

Χῦσις 1285. 67.

Ψῶσβις (ἀπηλιώτου τοπαρχίας) 1285. 94.

Ψῶσβις (κάτω τοπ.) 1259. 7; 1285. 133.

Ψῶσβις (μέσης τοπ.) 1285. 22, 115.

ῥΩφις 1285. 91.

[. . . .]αυρ . [.] 1285. 40.

2. *Miscellaneous.*

Λαύρα (Cynopolite) 1256. 7, 16, 24, 26. | Τα . π( ) (Apollinopolite) 1293. 43.  
 Π . . [.]είμις 1252. recto 1. | . ρύθις (Cynopolite) 1254. 3, 18.

## (c) ἄμφοδα OF OXYRHYNCHUS.

Βορῶ Κρηπίδος 1284. 10. | Νότου Δρόμον 1266. 22.  
 Ἐρμαίου 1263. 7. | Πλατείας 1267. 17.  
 Ἴπποδρόμον 1258. 2. | Τεμγενοῦθεως 1268. 11.  
 Μυροβαλάνου 1276. 6; 1306.

## (d) κληῖροι.

Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου 1279. 10. | Πολυκλείδου 1270. 23.

## (e) MISCELLANEOUS.

Λουτρά δημόσια 1252. verso 22. | Πέρκωψ, ἀμπελικὸν κτῆμα Π. λεγόμενον 1278.  
 Νεόφυτον, κτῆμα [λεγόμενον?] N. 1286. introd. | 11.  
 Πεκτυεύτου (village?) 1312.

## VII. RELIGION.

## (a) PAGAN.

(1) *Gods.*

Ἄθηνᾶ ἢ καὶ Θοῆρις 1268. 7. | Ἥρα 1265. 8.  
 Ἄνουβις 1256. 12. | θεός, θεοί 1296. 5. σύνναοι θεοὶ μέγιστοι  
 Βῆσις 1272. 10. | 1256. 13; 1265. 8. Cf. Index II.  
 Διόνυσος, σπουδὴ Διονύσου 1283. 17, 21. | Θοῆρις, Ἄθηνᾶ ἢ καὶ Θ. 1268. 7.  
 Ζεὺς 1265. 8. | Λητώ 1256. 12.

(2) *Temples, &c.*

βωμός 1258. 8. | πρωτολόγισμα 1256. 12. ἰ. Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας  
 Ἡρακλείου. See Index VI (b). | καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγ. 1265. 8.  
 ἱερόν 1256. 18; 1258. 8. Ἄνουβιδος καὶ | Ἰσείου. See Index VI (b).  
 Ἀητούς καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων [οἶ]ς | ναὸς θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος 1256. 14.  
 συναθροῦνται ναὸς θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἱερά | τέμενος 1258. 9.

(3) *Priests.*

ἀρχιερεὺς 1252. recto 22. | ἀρχιδικαστής 1270. 5, 12.  
 ἱέρεια 1256. 7. | κωμάστις θείων προτομῶν καὶ νίκης αὐτῶν προα-  
 ἱερεὺς 1256. 8, 12; 1265. 7, 20, 21; 1297. | γούσης 1265. 9, 21 (om. καὶ νίκ. αὐτ. πρ.).  
 3. ἰ. ἔναρχος ἐξηγητής 1269. 1, 12. ἰ. καὶ | παστοφόρος Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς καὶ Θοῆριδος 1268. 7.

## (b) CHRISTIAN.

Ἄπα Ἰουῆτος 1311. | μαρτύριον Ἄπα Ἰουῆτου 1311.  
 ἀποτακτήρ 1311. | μονάζων 1338.  
 θεός 1299. 6. κύριος θ. 1298. 4; 1299. 4; | πρ(εσβύτερος?) 1311.  
 1300. 2. | χμγ 1289. 1; 1300. 1; 1328; 1343.

## VIII. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TITLES.

- ἀγορανομικός, εὐθηριαρχικός καὶ ἀγ. στέφανος 1252. verso 17.  
 ἀγορανόμος 1282. 46.  
 ἀγωνοθετήσας 1284. 9.  
 ἀμφοδογραμματεὺς 1267. 1.  
 ἄρχας Ἀλεξανδρείας 1252. recto 30.  
 ἀρχή 1252. recto 10, verso 28, 35, 37.  
 ἀρχιδικαστής, Κέλερ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχιδ. (A.D. 159) 1270. 5. Κέλερ γενόμενος στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως ἱερεὺς ἀρχιδ. καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων (A.D. 159) 1270. 12.  
 ἀρχιερεὺς 1252. recto 22.  
 ἀρχιυπηρέτης στρατηγοῦ 1253. 21.  
 ἄρχοντες 1252. verso 23.
- βασιλικὴ γραμματεία 1274. 8. Cf. βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς.  
 βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, Νικάνδρος (A.D. 72-3) 1266. 27. Πάμφιλος (A.D. 74-5) 1266. 2. Σερῆνος (A.D. 197) 1262. 2. Ὠρίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπίων (A.D. 211-12) 1259. 8. Ἀχιλλίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος s. of Apollonius ἐν ᾗ ἦν ἐπικειρισμένος βασιλικὴ γραμματεία Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρας (3rd cent.) 1274. 7.  
 βιβλιοφύλαξ 1264. 3; 1268. 2. βιβλ. δημοσίων λόγων 1256. 2.  
 βοηθός 1257. 8, 9; 1322; 1329; 1342. βοηθ. πραιποσίτου 1253. 16, 19.  
 βουλευτής 1252. recto 23; 1261. 4; 1268. 2; 1274. 2; 1278. 5; 1284. 6, 9, 19.  
 βουλή 1252. verso 6, 9, 23, 27.
- γραμματεὺς, βασιλικὸς γρ. See βασιλικός. γρ. καταλογίου 1270. 11. γρ. κώμης Σιναρὺ καὶ ἐτέρων κωμῶν 1281. 15. γρ. πόλεως 1263. 2.  
 γυμνασιάρχης 1262. 4; 1264. 2; 1274. 1; 1278. 8; 1284. 19.  
 γυμνασιάρχος 1252. verso 33; 1274. 13; 1278. 4; 1333. τὸ τάγμα τῶν γυμνασιάρχων 1252. verso 24.
- δεκαπρωτία 1257. 1, 3, 10, 19.  
 δεκάπρωτος 1255. 9, 17; 1257. 12, 15; 1260. 10, 19.  
 δημόσιος τραπεζίτης 1284. 6, 19.
- διοικήσις δημοσίων λουτρῶν 1252. verso 22.  
 διοικητής, ὁ κράτιστος γενόμενος διοικ. Ἀνδρόμαχος (A.D. 272) 1264. 8.  
 διοικοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ πρῶτοι μετὰ σέ (sc. τὸν ἔπαρχον) τιμὴν 1253. 5.
- ἐκατόνταρχος τάξεως τοῦ καθολικοῦ 1261. 3.  
 ἐκβολεὺς 1301.  
 ἐξηγητέσας 1262. 5; 1263. 2.  
 ἐξηγητής 1252. recto 22, 44; 1269. 5. ἱερεὺς ἐναρχος ἐξ. 1269. 1, (ἐναρχ. ἱερ. καὶ ἐξ.) 12. ἐξ. Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ἀνρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης (A.D. 289) 1252. recto 20.  
 ἔπαρχος 1253. 2, 23. See ἡγεμών.  
 ἐπείκτης δημοσίου σίτου, ὁ κράτιστος ἐπ. δη. σίτ. 1257. 13.  
 ἐπιμελητής, ἐπιμ. τοῦ οἴνου 1298. 12. ἐπιμ. τοῦ ἐν Ἡλεναςαί φρουρίου 1252. recto 17, 24. ἐπιμ. . . . 1261. 4.  
 ἐπιστράτηγος 1302.  
 ἐπίτροπος, ὁ κράτιστος ἐπίτ. Νέας πόλεως 1259. 10. ὁ κράτιστος τῶν οὐσιακῶν ἐπίτ. 1274. 10. ἐπίτ. τῆς Φάρου 1271. 4.  
 εὐθηνιάρχης 1252. verso 24.  
 εὐθηνιαρχία 1252. verso 29, 33.  
 εὐθηνιαρχικός καὶ ἀγορανομικός στέφανος 1252. verso 17.
- ἡγεμονία 1252. recto 19.  
 ἡγεμών 1252. verso 14, 18; 1305. Καύντιος (l. Κυντίος?) Παυλείνος (A.D. 72-3) 1266. 25. Ἡράκλῃος ἔπαρχος τῆς Αἰγύπτου (3rd cent.) 1313. Οὐαλέριος Φίρμος ἔπαρχ. Αἴγ. (A.D. 246) 1271. 1, (Valerius Firmus) 7. Βασιλεὺς ἔπαρχ. Αἴγ. (A.D. 248?) 1277. introd. Οὐαλέριος Πομπηιανός (A.D. 288-9) 1252. recto 2, (ὁ διασημότατος ἡμῶν ἡγεμῶν Οὐαλ. Πομπ., A.D. 289) 27. Cf. ἔπαρχος.
- καθολικός, ὁ διασημότατος καθ. 1261. 3. Οὐλλπιος Κύριλλος ὁ διασημ. καθ. (A.D. 286) 1260. 7.  
 κεντηνίριος 1253. 8.  
 κεφαλαιωτής 1253. 16, 19; 1330.  
 κόμης 1335.  
 κορικοῦλάριος 1253. 12.  
 κορτιανός 1253. 4.  
 κοσμητέσας 1284. 8.



κομάρχης 1254. 3, 18; 1255. 5; 1256. 7, 24; 1301.

λογιστής, Φλαούσιος Παράνιος ὁ καὶ Μακρόβιος (A.D. 336) 1265. 5; 1303.

ναύκληρος χειρισμοῦ Νέας πόλεως 1259. 2.  
νομογράφος 1279. 31.

παλαιστροφύλαξ 1266. 8.

παράληψις καὶ παράδοσις σπερμάτων, αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ παραλήψεως καὶ παραδ. σπ. 1262. 6.

πραγματευτής 1257. 5.

πραιπόσιτος 1261. 8. πραιπ. πάγον 1253. 16, 19, 21.

πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν 1283. 4. πρ. δημοσίων 1258. 3.

προστάτης κόμης 1275. 7.

πρυτανεία 1252. verso 19.

πρύτανις 1252. verso 13.

πρωτήκτωρ 1253. 4, 14, 17.

πρώτοι μετὰ σέ (sc. τὸν ἑπαρχόν) τιμῆν 1253. 6.

σιτολόγος 1259. 6; 1288. 27.

σπερμάτων, αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ παραλήψεως καὶ παραδόσεως σπ. 1262. 6.

στόλαρχος 1331 (?).

στρατηγῆσας, στρατηγῶν. See στρατηγός.

στρατηγός 1252. verso 38; 1253. 22; 1257. 18; 1270. 6, 48; 1294. 3; 1307.

(Alexandria) Κέλερ γενόμενος στρ. τῆς πόλεως (before A.D. 159) 1270. 14. (Cynopolite nome) Ἀυρήλιος Ἰέραξ ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος (A.D. 260) 1254. 1, 14. (Diopolite nome) Κλαύδιος

Διοσκουρίδης ὁ καὶ Χαίρεας (before A.D. 292) 1255. 1. (Oxyrhynchite nome) [Ἀπολλώ]νιος (A.D. 45) 1258. 7. Σουτώριος Σωσίβιος στρατηγῆσας (A.D. 72-3) 1266. 26. Πετρώνιος Διονύσιος (A.D. 139) 1279. 1. Φωκίων (A.D. 159) 1270. 1. Λουκρήτιος Νέϊλος (A.D. 197) 1262. 1. Δίδυμος (A.D. 211-12) 1259. 1, 26. Ἀυρήλιος Ἀρποκρατίων (A.D. 219) 1283. 1. Ἀυρήλιος Φίλιππος ὁ καὶ Ὠρίων (A.D. 286) 1260. 1, 18. Ἀυρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης (A.D. 288-9) 1252. recto 2, (ἔξηγητῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας στρ. Ὁξυρυγίτου, A.D. 289) 20. Κλαύδιος Διοσκουρίδης ὁ καὶ Χαίρεας (A.D. 292) 1255. 1. (Prosopite nome) Ἀυρήλιος Διονύσιος (Late 3rd or early 4th cent.) 1301. (Tanite nome) Θεῶν ὁ καὶ Πλούταρχος στρατηγῶν (3rd cent.) 1257. 4. στρατιώτης, οἱ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι διακειμένοι γενναϊότατοι στρ. 1261. 8. σύμμαχος 1323 (?). συστάτης 1328.

τάγμα τῶν γυμνασιάρχων 1252. verso 24.

τάξις τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ 1261. 3.

τράπεζα, δημοσία τρ. 1283. 14.

τραπεζίτης 1253. 11. δημόσιος τρ. 1284. 6, 19.

ὑπηρέτης 1328; 1339.

ὑπομηματογράφος (Alexandria) 1270. 13. (Oxyrhynchus) 1257. 4.

φρουρός 1252. verso 10.

χρηματιστής 1270. 15.

## IX. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, COINS.

## (a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

ἄρουρα 1270. 26, 28, 33; 1279. 11.

ἀρτάβη 1257. 6, 16; 1259. 4, 17, 18; 1260. 6, 11, 27; 1286. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7; 1288. 3, 4, 5; 1291. 8; 1332.

διπλοῦν 1322; 1325-7.

ἐξάπηχυς τάπης 1253. 12.

ἡμαρτάβιον 1259. 16.

κεράμιον 1275. 19, 20; 1286. introd.; 1288. 12, 35; 1324.

κοτύλη 1275. 18.

κοῦφον 1343.

λίτρα 1261. 6, 7, 9; 1288. 29, 30, 34, 36; 1335; 1338.

μάριον 1297. 3.

μετρητής 1293. 6, 20.

μέτρον 1255. 16; 1257. 8. μ. δημόσιον 1259. 18.

μνᾶ 1286. 8.

μναΐτιον 1272. 10; 1273. 17.

μονόχωρον 1341 (?).

ξέστης 1344.

ὀλκή 1272. 10; 1273. 8, 9, 10.

σπαθίον 1297. 10; 1298. 14, 18.

σταθμός 1273. 21, 28. στ. ὀξυρυγχτικός 1273. 6.

τετάρτη 1273. 8, 9, 11, 17.

τέταρτον 1293. 25 (?).

χοϊνίξ 1286. 3, 4, 7.

### (b) COINS.

ἀργύριον 1269. 24, 37; 1273. 31; 1274. 18, 20, 24; 1276. 31; 1280. 11, 12; 1281. 7, 10; 1282. 40; 1288. 11, 28, 30, 32, 33; 1292. 8; 1308; 1318; 1337. ἀργ. Σεβαστοῦ νόμισμα 1270. 34; 1282. 14. ἀργ. Σεβαστῶν νομ. 1276. 10. ἀργύρια 1288. 1.

δημίριον 1344. δηναρίων μυριάς 1337.

δοκνηγρία 1274. 14.

δραχμή 1254. 27; 1262. introd.; 1269. 24, 26, 28, 30, 31, 35; 1273. 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 34; 1274. 18, 20, 24; 1275. 16, 22; 1276. 26, 31; 1277. 10, 11, 24; 1279. 20; 1281. 7, 10; 1282. 40; 1283. 13 *et saep.*; 1284. 16, 17, 18, 20, 21; 1285. *passim*; 1288. 14, 30, 35; 1292. 8, 10; 1295. 8, 9; 1308-9; 1318; 1333; 1339; 1345.

δινόβολοι 1285. 17.

ἡμιωβελιον 1283. 16, 20; 1284. 16, 18, 21.

μυριάς 1289. *passim*. δηναρίων μ. 1337. ἀργύριον μ. 1280. 11, 12; 1336-7.

νόμισμα, Σεβαστοῦ νομ. 1270. 34; 1282. 14. Σεβαστῶν νομ. 1276. 10.

νομισμάτιον, χρυσοῦ ν. 1253. 9, 15, 18; 1323; 1329; 1330.

ὀβολός 1285. 9, 26, 31. ὀβ. πέντε 1284. 17.

πεντάβολον 1283. 18, 20; 1284. 16, 18, 21; 1285. 23, 30, 32.

τάλαντον 1274. 18, 21; 1285. 69, 84; 1288. 3 *et saep.*; 1298. 18; 1308; 1344.

τετράβολον 1283. 17, 21; 1285. 11, 16.

χαλκός 1295. 17.

χαλκοῦς 1283. 16, 17, 21.

χρυσοῦ νομισμάτιον 1253. 9, 15, 18; 1323; 1329; 1330.

### X. TAXES.

ἀνώννα 1288. 10, 35.

ἀργυρικά μητροπολιτικά 1283. 4.

γυμετρία 1308.

δέκατον. See διαφόρου.

δημόσιος πυρός 1254. 7, 20. δη. σίτος 1257. 13.

δημόσια 1258. 3, 8. δη. μετρήματα 1257. 6.

δη. τελέσματα 1255. 10; 1270. 40.

διαφόρου μετενεχθεισῶν (sc. ἀρταβῶν) ἀρτάβης δέκατον (?) 1286. 3.

ἐγκύκλιον 1284. 7.

εἶδος 1276. 16.

ἐκατοστή, ἐκ. μία καὶ ἡμιαρτάβιον 1259. 16. αἱ ἐκατοσταὶ μετενεχθεισῶν (sc. ἀρταβῶν) ι (?) 1286. 6.

ἕκτη 1283. 13.

ἐξαργυρισμός 1253. 8; 1288. 19; 1344.

ἐπαρούριον 1283. 13, 16, 19, 23.

ἐπιβολή 1347.

ἐπιδημία, εἰς τὴν ἐσομένην ἔ. 1261. 7.

εἰθνήια στρατιωτῶν 1261. 7.

ἐφόδιον 1253. 7.

θεωρικά 1333.

κεφαλή, συντέλεια τῆς κεφ. 1331.

μετρήματα, δημόσια μ. 1257. 6.

ὀκτάδραχος σπονδή Διονύσου 1283. 17, 20.

περιστερώνων, πηχισμός π. 1283. 18.

πηχισμός περιστερώνων 1283. 18.

προσφορά 1253. 9; 1322.

σπονδή 1284. 16; 1340. ὀκτάδραχος σπ.  
Διονύσου 1283. 17, 20.

συντέλεια 1330. σ. τῆς κεφαλῆς 1331.

τέλεσμα 1288. 6 (?). δημόσια τελέσματα 1255.  
10; 1270. 40.

## XI. GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK AND LATIN WORDS.

ἄβροχος 1279. 23.

ἄβωλος 1259. 15.

ἀγαθός 1273. 1.

ἀγγεῖον 1290. 6 (ῥ ακιον Παρ.), 10 (αγιον  
Παρ.); 1343.

ἄγειν 1272. 19; 1279. 25.

ἀγοράζειν 1284. 12 (?); 1288. 29, 36; 1300.  
8; 1346.

ἀγορανομικός 1252. verso 17.

ἀγορανάμος 1282. 46.

ἀγοραστικός 1268. 16.

ἀγυιά 1282. 14; 1316.

ἀγωγή 1259. 4; 1260. 5.

ἀγώγιον 1293. 21.

ἀγωνοθετεῖν 1284. 9.

ἀδελφή 1294. 1, 17; 1296. 9, 10, 12; 1300.  
4; 1349.

ἀδελφιδός 1269. 7, 17; 1282. 7.

ἀδέλφιον 1300. 4.

ἀδελφός 1269. 10, 19, 35; 1291. 1; 1292.  
2; 1293. 23, 38; 1295. 19; 1296. 11,  
13, 14; 1297. 5; 1298. 20; 1299. 4,  
11; 1300. 3, 7; 1330.

ἀδιαπάτητος 1259. 15.

ἄδολος 1259. 15.

ἀεί 1276. 5.

ἀθρόως 1252. verso 31.

αἴθριον 1268. 11.

αἴρειν 1294. 8; 1295. 11.

αἰρέιν 1262. 6; 1273. 38; 1276. 18; 1279.  
16; 1308; 1331.

αἴρεσις 1273. 29.

αἰτεῖν 1269. 15.

αἴτημα 1273. 28.

αἰώνιος 1319; 1320.

ἀκακούρητος 1259. 23.

ἄκιον (1. ἀγγεῖον?) 1290. 6.

ἀκόλουθος 1257. 9. ἀκολούθως 1266. 5.

ἄκριθος 1259. 15.

ἄκρος 1282. 36.

ἀκύρωσις 1282. 35.

ἀλλήλων 1270. 32; 1273. 22, 41; 1275. 1;  
1276. 10; 1278. 1.

ἄλλος 1252. verso 21; 1256. 7, 26; 1266.  
3, 29; 1269. 20; 1270. 16, 30; 1274.

17; 1276. 9, 17; 1282. 24, 29; 1288.  
4; 1292. 15; 1293. 12, 20, 21; 1316.

ἀλλότριος 1266. 35.

ἄλωνία 1255. 8.

ἄμα 1303; 1350.

ἀμελεῖν 1300. 6; 1349.

ἀμέμπτως 1252. verso 35; 1273. 23.

ἀμεριμνεῖν 1296. 5.

ἄμης 1297. 17.

ἀμπελικός 1278. 11, 24.

ἀμπελουργός 1322; 1324-7.

ἀμπελών 1286. introd.

ἀμφοδογραμματεῖς 1267. 1.

ἀμφοδον 1258. 3; 1263. 7; 1266. 22; 1267.  
13; 1268. 11; 1276. 6; 1284. 10.

ἀμφοκέρνιος (?) 1343.

ἀμφότεροι 1252. recto 21; 1254. 18; 1255.  
5; 1256. 2, 7; 1264. 3; 1274. 11;  
1276. 2; 1278. 7; 1284. 6.

ἀναγινώσκειν 1252. recto 27.

ἀναγκαῖος 1252. verso 37.

ἀνάγκη 1288. 26.

ἀναγράφειν 1266. 21; 1267. 11.

ἀναθεῖν 1252. verso 20.

ἀναδιδόναι 1254. 9; 1282. 33; 1295. 15.

ἀνακαλύπτειν 1297. 9.

ἀνάκτησις 1252. verso 34.

- ἀναλαμβάνειν 1252. verso 28.  
 ἀναλίσκεν 1286. 4; 1288. 8; 1295. 8.  
 ἀνάλωμα 1252. verso 21; 1260. 17; 1261. 9;  
 1288. 11, 20.  
 ἀνανέωσις 1252. verso 16.  
 ἀναπέθειν 1295. 10.  
 ἀναπέμπειν 1268. 13.  
 ἀναφαίρετος 1284. 15.  
 ἀναφέρειν 1286. introd.; 1292. 14.  
 ἀναφόριον 1272. 18.  
 ἀναψύχειν 1296. 7.  
 ἄνδρσιος, ἀνδρειότατος Καίσαρ 1318.  
 ἀνέρχεσθαι 1345.  
 ἀνευρίσκειν 1272. 23.  
 ἀνὴρ 1273. 4; 1274. 6, 12, 15; 1276. 16;  
 1278. 3; 1282. 12, 19; 1299. 13. τὸ  
 κατ' ἄνδρα 1257. 11.  
 ἄνηστος 1288. 34.  
 ἄνησον 1343.  
 ἀνώνα 1288. 10, 35.  
 ἀνοίγειν 1288. 12; 1294. 10, 11.  
 ἀντίγραφον 1264. 11; 1268. 14, 18; 1270.  
 4, 7; 1281. 4, 13.  
 ἀντιλέγειν 1252. verso 37.  
 ἀνυπερθέτως 1280. 13.  
 ἄνω 1256. 4; 1285. 51.  
 ἄξιοι 1252. recto 37, verso 38; 1270. 57;  
 1271. 4; 1272. 18.  
 ἀξίωμα 1265. 14, 19.  
 ἀπαίτησις 1253. 14; 1273. 35.  
 ἀπαλλαγὴ 1273. 25, 33, 52.  
 ἀπελασία 1252. recto 6.  
 ἀπελεύθερος 1263. 3; 1279. 3.  
 ἀπεργασία 1270. 39.  
 ἀπέρχεσθαι 1291. 10.  
 ἀπευκταῖος 1274. 5.  
 ἀπέχων 1270. 35; 1276. 11, 25, 30; 1277.  
 12, 24; 1282. 14.  
 ἀπηλιώτης 1270. 31; 1276. 8; 1279. 12;  
 1285. 85; 1287. 15.  
 ἀπλοῦς 1277. 13; 1280. 14. ἀπλῶς 1282. 31.  
 ἀπογράφειν 1268. 4, 15; 1274. 10.  
 ἀπογραφὴ 1276. 18.  
 ἀποδεικνύειν 1252. verso 24. ἀποδειγμένος  
 Αὐτοκράτωρ 1309. ἀποδεδ. γυμνασίαρχος  
 1278. 4.  
 ἀπόδειξις 1252. recto 16, 31, verso 23; 1266. 9.  
 ἀποδημῆν 1288. 29.  
 ἀποδημία 1339.  
 ἀποδιδόναι 1252. verso 30, 34, 35; 1273. 26.  
 53; 1280. 12; 1281. 7; 1296. 21;  
 1297. 22; 1299. 21; 1300. 11.  
 ἀποκαθιστάειν 1275. 25.  
 ἀποκείσθαι 1286. 9.  
 ἀποκλείειν 1272. 5.  
 ἀπολείπειν 1269. 16.  
 ἀπολύειν 1271. 5.  
 ἀποπληροῦν 1255. 16.  
 ἀποσπᾶν 1295. 4, 6.  
 ἀποστέλλειν 1288. 17; 1298. 13; 1300. 5, 6.  
 ἀπόστολος 1259. 10.  
 ἀποσυναστάειν 1274. 9.  
 ἀποτακτήρ 1311.  
 ἀποσία 1273. 22.  
 ἀποχή 1259. 25; 1260. 17; 1298. 14;  
 1331.  
 ἄπτειν 1297. 4, 7, 13.  
 ἀπτῶδιον 1273. 8.  
 ἀργέντιος 1273. 12.  
 ἀργέντιος 1310.  
 ἀργός 1269. 22.  
 ἀργυρικός 1283. 4.  
 ἀργύριον. See Index IX (b).  
 ἀργυροῦς 1272. 11.  
 ἀριθμησις 1258. 7; 1273. 28; 1283. 7.  
 ἀριθμός 1261. 10; 1270. 36; 1273. 21.  
 ἄρουρα. See Index IX (a).  
 ἀρραβών 1275. 22.  
 ἀρτάβη. See Index IX (a).  
 ἀρτοκοπίων 1288. 4.  
 ἀρτοκόπος 1288. 23.  
 ἄρτος 1252. verso 15; 1275. 17; 1291. 4.  
 ἄρχειν, ἄρχοντες 1252. verso 23. ἄρξαις 1252.  
 recto 30.  
 ἀρχή 1252. recto 10, verso 28, 35, 37.  
 ἀρχιδικαστής. See Index VIII.  
 ἀρχιερεύς 1252. recto 22.  
 ἀρχιυπηρέτης 1253. 21.  
 ἄσημος 1288. 22.  
 ἀσμένως 1252. verso 19 (?).  
 ἀσπάζεσθαι 1294. 16; 1296. 8, 11, 13, 14,  
 17, 18; 1299. 4, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17.  
 ἀστήρ 1277. 1.  
 ἀσύγκριτος 1298. 1.  
 ἀσυλία 1264. 11.  
 ἀσυλος 1258. 9.  
 ἀσφάλεια 1266. 35.  
 ἀσφαλῆς 1255. 7; 1298. 7.  
 ἀσθαίρετος 1280. 5.  
 ἀυλή 1287. 9, 14.

ἀλλήτης 1275. 9.  
 αὔριον 1291. 12.  
 αὐτίκα 1252. verso 27.  
 αὐτόθι 1270. 35; 1276. 11.  
 αὐτός, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό 1273. 16.  
 αὐτοψία 1272. 19.  
 ἀφήλιξ 1256. 8; 1269. 6, 16; 1278. 7, 14.  
 ἀφιέναι 1288. 34; 1293. 18; 1346.  
 ἀφροδισιακός 1293. 5, 33, 39.  
 ἄχρηστος 1346.  
 ἄχρι 1345. ἄχρισ 1255. 9; 1346.  
 ἄχρυν 1334 (?).  
  
 βασιλεία 1257. 7.  
 βασιλικός, βασ. γῆ 1270. 38; 1276. 16. βασ.  
 γραμματεία and γραμματεύς. See Index  
 VIII.  
 βαστάζειν 1272. 8; 1293. 22, 41, 42; 1320.  
 βαφή 1293. 24.  
 βέβαιος 1276. 15.  
 βεβαιοῦν 1270. 36; 1276. 26, 31; 1277. 13,  
 25.  
 βεβαίωσις 1270. 37; 1276. 15.  
 βιβλιοθήκη 1287. 1.  
 βιβλιοφύλαξ. See Index VIII.  
 βλάβος 1282. 40.  
 βοήθεια 1272. 22.  
 βοηθεῖν 1348.  
 βοηθός. See Index VIII.  
 βορρᾶς 1270. 30; 1276. 8; 1279. 12;  
 1284. 10; 1287. 5.  
 βούλεσθαι 1263. 8; 1267. 10; 1271. 3.  
 βουλευτής. See Index VIII.  
 βουλή 1252. verso 6, 9, 23, 27.  
 βρακάριος 1341.  
 βωμός 1258. 8.  
  
 γαμεῖν 1266. 16; 1273. 6 *et saep.*; 1274. 16.  
 γάμος 1273. 4, 23, 46.  
 γαρηρός 1299. 8.  
 γείτων 1270. 30; 1272. 14; 1276. 8; 1279.  
 11.  
 γένημα 1259. 12; 1261. 6; 1262. 16.  
 γενναῖος, γενναϊότατοι στρατιῶται 1261. 8.  
 γέονχος 1288. 17; 1329; 1339.  
 γερδιακός 1269. 32.  
 γέρδιος 1272. 15.  
 γεωμετρία 1308.  
 γεωργεῖν 1262. 18.  
 γεωργία 1270. 37; 1276. 16.

γῆ, βασιλική γῆ 1270. 38; 1276. 16. κατοικική  
 γῆ 1270. 25. οὐσιακή γῆ 1270. 38;  
 1276. 16. Cf. ὑπόλογος.  
 γίγνεσθαι 1252. recto 17, 24, 38; 1253. 11,  
 16, 19; 1255. 2, 18; 1257. 4, 17; 1264.  
 7, 8, 14; 1266. 2, 13, 28; 1270. 12, 13,  
 58; 1272. 22; 1273. 26, 28, 41, 52;  
 1276. 20, 21; 1279. 23; 1280. 12;  
 1282. 18, 21; 1284. 14, 18, 21; 1285.  
 49, 69, 81, 121, 128, 142; 1286. 1, 3;  
 1288. 26; 1289. 11; 1291. 8; 1298. 9;  
 1299. 9; 1305; 1307; 1320; 1322;  
 1325-6; 1329; 1330; 1333; 1346.  
 γινώσκειν 1252. verso 33; 1348.  
 γλυκός 1296. 2; 1300. 4; 1350.  
 γνάπτειν 1346.  
 γνήσιος 1267. 15.  
 γνώμη 1280. 5.  
 γνωμο . . . 1286. introd.  
 γνώσις 1253. 20.  
 γόμος 1333.  
 γονεύς 1299. 21; 1306.  
 γράμμα 1252. recto 27; 1254. 34; 1256.  
 25; 1260. 7, 15, 31; 1261. 11; 1273.  
 50; 1274. 9; 1276. 28, 34; 1277. 27;  
 1280. 19; 1281. 12; 1300. 3; 1349.  
 γραμματεία, βασιλική γρ. 1274. 8.  
 γραμματεύς. See Index VIII.  
 γράφειν 1254. 33; 1256. 25; 1260. 17, 30;  
 1270. 48; 1271. 4; 1273. 37, 49; 1276.  
 18, 28, 33; 1277. 13, 27; 1278. 29;  
 1280. 14; 1281. 11; 1293. 14, 21, 27.  
 γραφή 1256. 8; 1266. 11, 15; 1269. 5, 15.  
 γύης 1279. 12.  
 γυμνασιαρχεῖν. See Index VIII.  
 γυμνασιαρχος. See Index VIII.  
 γυμνάσιον 1266. 12, 14; 1267. 17.  
 γυνή 1273. 24; 1282. 10.  
  
 δακτυλίδιον 1273. 11.  
 δανείζειν 1281. 5; 1282. 17.  
 δάνειον 1262. 16; 1282. 34.  
 δαπάνη 1273. 34; 1288. 13.  
 δαπάνημα 1252. verso 23.  
 dare 1271. 12.  
 δειγματοκαταγωγή 1254. 5, 20.  
 δεῖν 1257. 17; 1295. 10. δεῖ 1252. verso  
 29; 1264. 14; 1272. 21; 1273. 24;  
 1293. 10, 12. δεῖσθαι 1304.  
 δεῖν ('bind') 1294. 7.

- δεκαπρωτία 1257. 1, 3, 10, 19.  
 δεκάπρωτος. See Index VIII.  
 δέκατον, ἀρτάβης δ. (?) 1286. 3.  
 δελματικομαφόρτης 1273. 12, 14, 15.  
 δεξιά 1252. verso 19.  
 δεσμίδιον 1288. 9, 15.  
 δεσπότης 1252. verso 14; 1298. 1. Cf.  
   Index II.  
 δεῦρο 1287. 15.  
 δέχεσθαι 1345.  
 δηλός 1264. 17.  
 δηλοῦν 1252. recto 36; 1265. 12; 1268. 14;  
   1270. 51; 1274. 15; 1287. 12, 19;  
   1293. 7; 1294. 15, 16; 1295. 16.  
 δημοσίος, τὸ δη. 1304. ἐν δημοσίῳ 1257. 11.  
   δημοσία 1254. 8. δημοσία 1258. 3, 8. δη.  
   βιβλιοθήκη 1287. 1. δη. θησαυροί 1259. 11.  
   δη. λόγοι 1256. 3. δη. λουτρά 1252. verso  
   22. δη. μετρήματα 1257. 6. δη. μέτρον  
   1259. 18. δη. πυρός 1254. 7, 20. δη.  
   ρύμη 1276. 9. δη. σίτος 1257. 13. δη.  
   τελέσματα 1255. 10; 1270. 40. δη. τρά-  
   πεζα 1283. 14. δη. τραπεζίτης 1284. 6,  
   19. δη. χῶμα 1279. 13.  
 δημοσιῶν 1266. 18; 1273. 38; 1276. 18.  
 δημοσίωσις 1273. 40; 1276. 20.  
 δημίριον. See Index IX (δ).  
 διαγράφειν 1279. 21; 1283. 14; 1284. 5;  
   1308.  
 διαγραφή 1284. 17; 1288. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7,  
   32.  
 διάδοσις 1261. 9.  
 διαδοχή 1265. 17.  
 διαίρειν 1278. 10.  
 διακείσθαι 1261. 8.  
 διωλέγεσθαι 1349.  
 διαλογή 1268. 13.  
 διασειεῖν 1252. recto 18, 29.  
 διασεισμός 1252. recto 33.  
 διασημότατος 1252. recto 27; 1260. 8;  
   1261. 3.  
 διαστολή 1283. 6.  
 διάστρωμα 1264. 15.  
 διάταγμα 1282. 27.  
 διαφέρειν 1348.  
 διαφορά 1273. 25.  
 διάφορον 1286. 3.  
 διαψεύδεσθαι 1265. 33.  
 διδόναι 1253. 11, 13; 1254. 2, 23; 1273.  
   33; 1274. 3; 1281. 9; 1288. 10, 32;  
   1292. 9; 1293. 11; 1294. 11; 1295. 8,  
   17; 1328; 1330; 1333; 1349.  
 διέρχεσθαι 1259. 13; 1262. 17; 1268. 5;  
   1270. 42; 1306.  
 διεντυχεῖν 1271. 6.  
 δίκαιος 1264. 18; 1273. 23; 1307. τέκνων  
   δικαίῳ 1276. 3, 24; 1277. 3.  
 δίκη 1281. 2.  
 δῆμνος 1288. 19; 1295. 14.  
 dimittere 1271. 9.  
 διό 1263. 15; 1267. 19; 1276. 12.  
 διοικεῖν 1253. 5; 1257. 2.  
 διοίκησις 1252. verso 22.  
 διοικητής 1264. 8.  
 διπλοῦν 1322; 1325-7.  
 δισσός 1259. 26; 1260. 18; 1264. 12; 1273.  
   37; 1276. 18.  
 δοκεῖν 1272. 18.  
 δουκηναρία 1274. 14.  
 δούλος 1294. 3, 9.  
 δράσσεσθαι 1298. 10.  
 δραχμή. See Index IX (δ).  
 δύναμις 1273. 24.  
 δύνασθαι 1272. 22; 1294. 10.  
 δυόβολοι. See Index IX (δ).  
 δυσκόλως 1294. 10.  
 δωδεκάδραχμος 1267. 17; 1306.  
 εἶν 1293. 19, 22.  
 εἵαυτοῦ 1273. 3; 1278. 10; 1282. 6; 1284.  
   12.  
 ἔγγαια 1268. 16.  
 ἔγγιστα 1258. 7.  
 ἐγγράφειν 1253. 7; 1254. 3; 1280. 17.  
 ἐγγράφος 1252. recto 34; 1265. 12.  
 ἐγκαλεῖν 1282. 28; 1316.  
 ἐγκατυρ( ) 1343.  
 ἐγκύκλιον 1284. 7.  
 ἔγκνος 1273. 33.  
 ἐγχειρίζειν 1254. 10.  
 ἔθιμος 1264. 19.  
 ἔθος 1271. 5; 1274. 3; 1276. 3; 1277. 3.  
 εἰδέναι 1254. 9, 34; 1256. 25; 1260. 31;  
   1273. 50; 1276. 28, 33; 1277. 28; 1280.  
   19; 1281. 12; 1299. 7; 1347-8.  
 εἶδος 1276. 16.  
 εἰλικρίνεια 1252. verso 38.  
 εἰσάπαξ 1294. 14.  
 εἰσδιδόναι 1254. 3.  
 εἰσιέναι 1278. 17.

- εἴσοδος* 1268. 12.  
*ἐκαστος* 1252. verso 30; 1253. 20; 1255. 10, 15; 1273. 28; 1278. 19, 24, 30; 1282. 39; 1288. 30; 1296. 4; 1298. 18.  
*ἐκότερος* 1273. 37; 1278. 25.  
*ἐκατόνταρχος* 1261. 3.  
*ἐκατοστή* 1259. 16; 1286. 6.  
*ἐκβολεύς* 1301.  
*ἐκγονος* 1276. 12.  
*ἐκιδιδόναι* 1260. 18; 1273. 1, 45.  
*ἐκδόσιμος* 1268. 13.  
*ἐκδοτίς* 1273. 5, 20, 26.  
*ἐκεῖ* 1297. 15.  
*ἐκεῖνος* 1265. 20.  
*ἐκκληψις* 1287. 1.  
*ἐκούσιος* 1280. 4.  
*ἐκπλεῖν* 1271. 3.  
*ἐκτη* 1283. 13.  
*ἐκτίνειν* 1282. 36.  
*ἐκτός* 1258. 8; 1295. 11.  
*ἔλαιον* 1293. 9; 1297. 4, 8; 1311. ἔλ. ἀφρο-  
 διακόν 1293. 5. ἔλ. ραφάνινον 1275. 18.  
*ἐλάσων* 1270. 27.  
*ἐμαντοῦ* 1298. 7.  
*ἐμβάλλειν* 1260. 6; 1292. 3.  
*ἐμμέλεια* 1265. 12.  
*ἐμπροσθεν* 1270. 41.  
*ἐμφανής* 1258. 6.  
*ἐμφορος* 1278. 13, 26.  
*ἐναντίος* 1258. 11.  
*ἐνάρετος* 1300. 2.  
*ἐναρχος* 1269. 1, 12.  
*ἐνδεῖν* 1273. 31.  
*ἔνεκα* 1293. 16, 17. *ἐνεκεν* 1253. 4, 8, 14, 16.  
*ἐνέχυρον* 1288. 13, 33; 1295. 12.  
*ἐνθάδε* 1296. 5.  
*ἐνιαυσίως* 1280. 11, 13.  
*ἐνιαυτός* 1252. verso 16.  
*ἐπιστάναι, ἐνεστώς* 1254. 19; 1255. 5; 1256. 9; 1257. 14; 1262. 8, 18; 1263. 9; 1267. 17; 1270. 21; 1275. 15; 1278. 14, 15; 1279. 7; 1282. 32; 1283. 8, 12.  
*ἐνοίκιον* 1262. introd.; 1280. 10; 1294. 13; 1321; 1323.  
*ἐνοχος* 1255. 20; 1261. 11; 1265. 23; 1266. 36.  
*ἐνσημος* 1273. 13, 14.  
*ἐντάγιον* 1323; 1326.  
*ἐντέλλειν* 1299. 10.  
*ἐντεῦθεν* 1273. 40; 1275. 20; 1276. 19; 1277. 11.  
*ἐντός* 1274. 13; 1278. 28.  
*ἐντυχία* 1264. 7.  
*ἐνώπιον* 1273. 10.  
*ἐξάμηνος* 1288. 23; 1328.  
*ἐξάπηχυς* 1253. 12.  
*ἐξαργυρισμός* 1253. 8; 1288. 19; 1344.  
*ἐξέρχεσθαι* 1349.  
*ἐξέτασις* 1272. 21.  
*ἐξηγητεύειν*. See Index VIII.  
*ἐξηγητής*. See Index VIII.  
*ἐξηλοῦν* 1272. 8.  
*ἐξῆς* 1253. 3; 1254. 4.  
*ἐξοδος* 1268. 12.  
*ἐξουσία* 1278. 27.  
*ἐορτή* 1275. 14; 1297. 11.  
*ἐπάγειν*. See Index IV (δ).  
*ἐπαίρειν* 1272. 12.  
*ἐπακολουθεῖν* 1255. 19.  
*ἐπάνω* 1286. 5.  
*ἐπαούριον* 1283. 13, 16, 19, 23.  
*ἐπαρχος*. See Index VIII.  
*ἐπεὶ* 1252. recto 26, 34; 1295. 11.  
*ἐπειδὴ* 1293. 24; 1346; 1349.  
*ἐπείκτης* 1257. 13.  
*ἐπειτα* 1299. 5.  
*ἐπέρχεσθαι* 1282. 29, 37.  
*ἐπερωτᾶν* 1260. 19; 1273. 20, 41, 48, 53; 1276. 21, 27, 32; 1277. 14, 25.  
*ἐπιβαίνειν* 1278. 27.  
*ἐπιβολή* 1347.  
*ἐπιδέχεσθαι* 1279. 5.  
*ἐπιδημεῖν* 1253. 3.  
*ἐπιδημία* 1261. 7.  
*ἐπιδιδόναι* 1252. recto 44; 1254. 32; 1256. 24; 1257. 13; 1263. 15; 1264. 12; 1266. 41; 1267. 19; 1269. 4; 1272. 17, 26; 1279. 30; 1286. 14; 1350.  
*ἐπιζητεῖν* 1313.  
*ἐπικέισθαι* 1252. verso 21.  
*ἐπικοινωνεῖν* 1280. 6.  
*ἐπικρίνειν* 1266. 22, 25.  
*ἐπίκρισις* 1306.  
*ἐπιλείπειν* 1252. verso 17.  
*ἐπιμέλεια* 1270. 15.  
*ἐπιμελητής* 1252. recto 17, 24; 1261. 4; 1298. 12.  
*ἐπινομή* 1279. 19.  
*ἐπιορκεῖν* 1258. 11.

ἐπίσκεψις 1287. 2.  
 ἐπιστέλλειν 1252. recto 8, verso 36; 1257. 5;  
 1259. 7; 1304.  
 ἐπιστολή 1252. recto 10, verso 4; 1291. 4, 7;  
 1293. 8, 16.  
 ἐπιστόλιον 1295. 15.  
 ἐπιστράτηγος 1302.  
 ἐπιτήδειος 1254. 24.  
 ἐπιτηρεῖν 1255. 14.  
 ἐπιτιθέναι 1255. 6; 1265. 11.  
 ἐπιτιμᾶν 1295. 5.  
 ἐπίτιμον 1282. 40.  
 ἐπιτρέπειν 1255. 14.  
 ἐπιτρέβειν 1252. verso 38.  
 ἐπίτροπος. See Index VIII.  
 ἐπιφανέστατος. See Index II.  
 ἐπιφέρειν 1260. 15; 1261. 11; 1264. 12;  
 1266. 5; 1268. 18; 1318.  
 ἐπίφορος 1282. 33.  
 ἐπιχειρίζειν 1274. 7.  
 ἐποίκιον 1278. 11. Cf. Index VI (b).  
 ἐποφείδειν 1255. 15.  
 ἐργάζεσθαι 1272. 15.  
 ἐργάτης ποταμοῦ 1263. 13.  
 ἐρίδιον 1293. 24.  
 ἐρχεσθαι 1253. 8, 14; 1297. 17; 1299. 7, 9;  
 1300. 10; 1345.  
 ἐρωτᾶν 1292. 6.  
 ἐσθίειν 1297. 10 (φάγαι).  
 ἕτερος 1252. recto 1; 1269. 22; 1273. 15,  
 39; 1276. 19; 1281. 15.  
 ἔτησίως 1252. verso 25.  
 ἔτι 1269. 30; 1270. 40; 1274. 13; 1278.  
 13; 1282. 36.  
 ἐτοιμίζειν 1299. 9.  
 ἔτος, ἐπ' ἔτος 1299. 8. νέον ἔτος 1299. 5.  
 εὔ 1258. 11; 1292. 3.  
 εὐδοκεῖν 1273. 40; 1276. 20; 1278. 36.  
 εὐδόκησις 1273. 39.  
 εὐθένεια 1252. verso 14; 1261. 7 (εὐθενία).  
 εὐθώς 1291. 5.  
 εὐθηνάρχης 1252. verso 24.  
 εὐθηναρχία 1252. verso 29, 33.  
 εὐθηναρχικὸς στέφανος 1252. verso 17.  
 εὐκαιρία 1300. 3.  
 εὐμαρῶς 1252. verso 35.  
 εὐναιδέιου (l. εὐπαδία?) 1264. 18.  
 ἐνορκεῖν 1258. 10.  
 εὐπαιδία (εὐναιδεῖα Pap.) 1264. 18.  
 εὐπορος 1254. 24.

εὐρίσκειν 1293. 22; 1300. 3; 1312.  
 εὐτυχής 1252. verso 19; 1257. 7. Cf.  
 Index II. εὐτυχῶς 1252. verso 15.  
 εὐνέριβτος 1272. 16.  
 εὐχαριστεῖν 1299. 5.  
 εὐχεσθαι 1293. 3; 1296. 20; 1297. 21;  
 1298. 4; 1299. 3, 21; 1345; 1349.  
 ἐφάπτειν 1255. 14.  
 ἐφόδιον 1253. 7.  
 ἑφοδος 1282. 36, 39.  
 ἔχειν 1252. verso 21; 1253. 6; 1254. 9, 27;  
 1255. 7; 1262. introd.; 1265. 19; 1272.  
 13; 1273. 7, 8, 10, 21, 30, 37, 51; 1275.  
 21; 1278. 10; 1279. 18; 1288. 2, 11,  
 25; 1289. 14, 15; 1292. 7, 11; 1293.  
 13, 16, 42; 1298. 10; 1309; 1318;  
 1321-2; 1325-6; 1329; 1333; 1346.  
 ἐχθές 1349.  
 ἕως 1253. 15; 1255. 15; 1299. 10; 1304;  
 1350.  
 ζεύγος 1273. 10; 1275. 17.  
 ζητεῖν 1252. verso 25.  
 ζωμάρυστρον 1289. 3.  
 ἡγεμονία 1252. recto 19.  
 ἡγεμών. See Index VIII.  
 ἡκειν 1252. recto 30.  
 ἡμέρα 1273. 27; 1275. 13; 1293. 26;  
 1296. 5.  
 ἡμερησίως 1275. 15.  
 ἡμιαρτάβιον 1259. 16.  
 ἡμιαβέλιον. See Index IX (b).  
 ἡνίκα 1298. 11.  
 ἡνίοχος 1287. 6, 18.  
 ἡσσαν 1282. 42.  
 θαλάσσιος 1288. 6.  
 θαρρεῖν 1347.  
 θανμάζειν 1348.  
 θεῖος 1261. 5, 12; 1265. 10, 15, 22, 24, 27.  
 θέλειν 1252. recto 35; 1291. 9; 1293. 18,  
 42; 1300. 5, 8, 9.  
 θεός. See Index II, Index VII (a) 1, (b).  
 θέσις 1266. 34.  
 θεωρικός 1333.  
 θησαυρός 1289. 11.  
 θυγάτηρ 1268. 8; 1273. 3, 6, 46; 1278. 7;  
 1294. 16; 1344.  
 θύειν 1299. 7.



θύρα 1272. 5, 6, 12.

ιδέα 1277. 10.

ιδιόγραφος 1266. 17; 1284. 13.

ἴδιος 1274. 21.

ιδού 1291. 7; 1295. 3.

ἰέρεια 1256. 17.

ἰερεὺς. See Index VII (a) 3.

ἰερόν. See Index VII (a) 2.

ἰμάς 1294. 7.

ἰμάτιον 1273. 12, 18, 29; 1274. 17; 1294. 4; 1295. 9, 16, 18.

ἴνα 1253. 22; 1254. 8; 1270. 52; 1272. 22; 1281. 10; 1292. 12; 1294. 12; 1300. 10.

ἰνδικτίων. See Index III.

ἰσάτις 1279. 17.

ἴσος 1254. 7; 1268. 14, 18; 1270. 49; 1276. 5, 12; 1278. 11; 1282. 41.

ἰστάναι 1252. verso 34 (?); 1281. 10.

ἰστός 1269. 32.

κάδος 1269. 32.

καθάπερ 1281. 2.

καθάρως 1260. 11; 1276. 15; 1277. 13.

καθήκειν 1266. 3, 29; 1267. 20; 1270. 52, 54; 1282. 16.

καθίεναι 1281. 10 (?).

καθολικός. See Index VIII.

καθόλον 1328.

καθότι 1281. 8.

καθώς 1299. 9.

καὶ δὴ 1252. verso 24.

καιρός 1257. 3.

καίτοι 1252. verso 21.

κακκάβιον 1290. 2.

κακουργία 1259. 24.

κακῶς 1346.

καλάνδα 1318. kalendae 1271. 12 (?).

καλεῖν 1273. 7.

καλλάνος 1273. 15.

καλός 1293. 6; 1294. 7. καλῶς 1273. 41; 1276. 21; 1295. 13; 1296. 8.

καμαράριος 1300. 7.

καμηλίτης 1293. 17.

καμηλών 1280. 7.

κάμπτειν 1287. 4, 15.

καρπέα 1278. 10, 15.

κορπός 1255. 7.

κασσιτέρνος 1269. 36.

κασσιτέριον 1269. 27.

καταγγέλλειν 1274. 6.

κατάγειν 1254. 5, 21; 1260. 12; 1293. 26.

καταγράφειν 1268. 5, 17.

κατακέσθαι 1257. 11.

καταλαμβάνειν 1297. 14.

καταλείπειν 1269. 6; 1286. 7.

καταλογεῖον 1266. 19; 1268. 5, 17; 1270. 4, 11; 1273. 38; 1276. 18.

καταντᾶν 1282. 26.

κατασπαρά 1262. 9, 17.

καταφέρειν 1260. 28; 1261. 9.

κατέρχεσθαι 1274. 9.

κατοικικός 1270. 25.

κατοχή 1276. 17.

κάτω 1259. 6; 1285. 129.

κεῖσθαι 1269. 21; 1287. 17; 1297. 4, 7, 13.

κελεύειν 1252. recto 9; 1259. 19; 1260. 14; 1261. 10; 1306.

κεντηνάριος 1253. 8.

κέντινος 1289. 9.

κένωμα 1292. 4.

κεράμιον 1275. 19, 20; 1286. introd.; 1288. 12, 35; 1324.

κερβικάριον 1269. 37.

κεφάλαιον 1273. 19; 1281. 7; 1282. 16.

κεφαλαιωτής 1253. 16, 19; 1330.

κεφαλή 1331.

κιβωτός 1269. 21.

κιθώνιον 1310.

κίνδυνος 1254. 25.

κίστη 1269. 36.

κιτών 1269. 30.

κλάλιον 1272. 9, 11.

κλειδίον 1294. 9.

κλειδοποιός 1294. 11.

κλείς 1269. 23.

κληρονόμος 1260. 5; 1270. 50; 1274. 12.

κλήρος 1252. verso 30; 1270. 24; 1279. 11.

κληροῦν 1278. 14.

κοινός 1273. 6, 17; 1278. 36. τὰ κοινά 1253. 5.

κοινωνικός 1276. 7.

κολληγας 1253. 17.

κόλλημα 1287. 3; 1307.

κόμης 1335.

κομίζειν 1281. 8; 1293. 4, 7, 10, 29, 32; 1294. 9, 15; 1295. 18.

κόπρος 1278. 23.

κορμικουλάριος 1253. 12.

- κορτιανός 1253. 4.  
 κοσκινεύειν 1259. 15; 1260. 11.  
 κοσμάριον 1274. 17.  
 κοσμητεύειν 1284. 8.  
 κόσμος 1298. 8.  
 κοτύλη 1275. 18.  
 κούκλιον 1300. 9.  
 κουκούμιον 1290. 3.  
 κοῦφον 1343.  
 κρατεῖν 1276. 12.  
 κράτιστος 1257. 13, 19; 1259. 10; 1264. 8;  
 1274. 10.  
 κρέας 1335.  
 κριθή 1260. 10, 27; 1329; 1344.  
 κρικίον 1300. 5.  
 κριτήριον 1270. 16.  
 κροσσωτός 1273. 14.  
 κτήμα 1278. 11, 24; 1286. introd.  
 κτήνος 1288. 5.  
 κτήτωρ 1253. 6.  
 κνάθιον 1289. 10, 13.  
 κυβερνήτης 1260. 4.  
 κυθρίς 1349.  
 κύμων 1343.  
 κύρα 1300. 5, 8; 1329.  
 κυριεύειν 1276. 12.  
 κύριος ('guardian') 1267. 5; 1270. 19; 1272.  
 2; 1274. 2; 1276. 2, 24; 1277. 2;  
 1282. 6, 12.  
 κύριος (title) 1252. verso 18; 1253. 23; 1271.  
 3; 1298. 4, 20; 1299. 1, 4; 1300. 2, 6;  
 1329; 1330. κυρία 1294. 2; 1300. 2;  
 1349. Cf. Index II and κύρα.  
 κύριος ('valid') 1259. 25; 1260. 17; 1270.  
 53; 1273. 37; 1276. 17; 1277. 12;  
 1278. 29; 1280. 13; 1281. 3; 1282.  
 42; 1318.  
 κωμάρχης. See Index VIII.  
 κωμαστής 1265. 9, 21.  
 κώμη 1254. 3, 18; 1255. 5; 1259. 12; 1260.  
 12; 1268. 3; 1270. 23; 1275. 7, 13,  
 26; 1281. 15; 1288. 27; 1301; 1320;  
 1342; 1347.  
 λάγνυος 1294. 6.  
 λακάνη 1269. 23.  
 λαμβάνειν 1273. 31; 1286. 5; 1288. 27;  
 1293. 8; 1294. 14; 1300. 9; 1345;  
 1349.  
 λαμπρότατος 1253. 2; 1264. 25; 1265. 4;  
 1319. ἡ λαμπροτάτη Ἀλεξάνδρεια, ἡ λαμπρὰ  
 καὶ λαμπροτ. Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις. See Index  
 VI (a).  
 λαμπρότης 1253. 22.  
 λανθάνειν 1253. 22.  
 λάχανον 1339.  
 λέγειν 1278. 12; 1293. 19, 41; 1348.  
 λειτουργεῖν 1275. 12.  
 λέσχη 1298. 8.  
 λευκός 1273. 13, 16; 1346.  
 λήγειν 1257. 3.  
 λήκυθος 1269. 27.  
 λήμμα 1283. 12.  
 λίθος 1273. 7, 8, 9.  
 λίνον 1281. 6.  
 λινοῦς 1277. 7, 9.  
 λινούφος 1303.  
 λίνυφος 1280. 4.  
 λίτρα. See Index IX (a).  
 λίψη 1257. 1; 1270. 31; 1276. 9; 1279. 13;  
 1285. 70.  
 λογιζεσθαι 1329.  
 λογιστής. See Index VIII.  
 λόγος 1253. 7; 1256. 3; 1257. 6, 10, 19;  
 1262. introd.; 1273. 34; 1275. 21; 1281.  
 9; 1284. 7; 1286. introd., 8; 1288. 1;  
 1289. 2, 12, 14; 1320; 1326-7; 1329;  
 1330; 1340.  
 λοιπογραφεῖν 1286. 8.  
 λοιπός 1252. verso 22, 33; 1253. 21; 1268.  
 10; 1276. 7; 1289. 15; 1293. 14; 1314.  
 λουτρά, δημόσια λ. 1252. verso 22.  
 λοχεία 1273. 34.  
 λοχίδιον 1290. 8.  
 λωβίον 1299. 10.  
 μάγειρος 1335.  
 μάθημα 1296. 6.  
 μακάριος 1320.  
 μακαρίτης 1274. 6.  
 μάλιστα 1252. verso 15; 1292. 11.  
 μανιάκης 1273. 7; 1289. 8.  
 μάριον 1297. 3.  
 μαρτύριον 1311.  
 μάρτυς 1298. 10.  
 μαφόριον 1295. 19; 1310.  
 μάχαιρα 1299. 10.  
 μάχαιρον 1289. 4, 7.  
 μεγαλείον 1252. recto 38.  
 μέγας 1269. 36; 1272. 11; 1289. 6, 13;

1350. μέγιστος 1256. 13; 1265. 9. Cf. Index II.
- μελείν 1294. 12.  
 μελλειν 1293. 10.  
 μέμφεσθαι 1261. 11.  
 μέμψις 1255. 19.  
 μένειν 1252. recto 32.  
 μέρος 1252. verso 29; 1260. 10; 1267. 13; 1269. 32; 1276. 6, 10, 14, 25, 26, 29, 30; 1278. 19, 24, 27, 30; 1284. 10, 16; 1287. 22, 24; 1293. 18.  
 μεσίτης 1298. 19.  
 μέσος 1260. 10; 1283. 5; 1285. 98.  
 μεταδιδόναί 1270. 48.  
 μεταδότης 1276. 19.  
 μετακαλείν 1252. recto 26.  
 μεταλαμβάνειν 1276. 13.  
 μετάληψις 1273. 39.  
 μεταλλάσσειν 1269. 8, 18; 1282. 18.  
 μεταξύ 1252. verso 34; 1320.  
 μεταφέρειν 1286. 3, 6.  
 μετρεῖν 1257. 19; 1304.  
 μέτρημα 1255. 18; 1257. 6.  
 μέτρησις 1259. 19.  
 μετρητής 1293. 6, 20.  
 μέτρον 1255. 16; 1257. 8; 1259. 18.  
 μέχρι 1270. 41; 1282. 31; 1299. 6; 1347.  
 μήν 1252. verso 33; 1257. 14; 1267. 18; 1268. 5; 1270. 56; 1278. 34; 1279. 22; 1280. 9; 1282. 3, 44; 1283. 7; 1284. 14; 1286. introd.; 1291. 14; 1304; 1328.  
 μηνιαῖον 1257. 12; 1308.  
 μηνύειν 1253. 22.  
 μήτηρ 1254. 26; 1262. 12; 1266. 15; 1267. 4, 6, 8; 1268. 7, 8; 1269. 2; 1270. 17; 1273. 1, 4; 1275. 2, 3, 5; 1276. 1, 4; 1277. 27; 1278. 7; 1282. 5, 8, 10, 11; 1284. 12, 13; 1293. 1; 1296. 8, 15; 1297. 22; 1300. 2, 5, 8; 1306; 1334; 1349.  
 μητροπολίτης 1306.  
 μητροπολιτικός 1283. 4.  
 μηχανή 1292. 13.  
 μικρός 1273. 11; 1350.  
 μμείσθαι 1295. 3.  
 μισθός 1275. 15; 1288. 9, 15.  
 μισθοῦν 1279. 5; 1280. 7.  
 μίσθωσις 1279. 26.  
 μῆν 1286. 8.  
 μναῖον 1272. 10; 1273. 17.  
 μνήμη 1320.  
 μνημονεύειν 1282. 22.  
 μονάζειν 1338.  
 μοναχός 1260. 19; 1273. 13, 37; 1278. 30.  
 μόνος 1252. verso 25; 1298. 6, 9; 1322; 1329; 1330.  
 μονόχωρον 1341 (?).  
 μουσικός 1275. 9.  
 μυριάς. See Index IX (δ).  
 ναός 1256. 14.  
 ναύκληρος 1259. 2.  
 ναῦλον 1288. 31.  
 ναυτικός 1259. 24; 1286. introd.; 1294. 6, 15.  
 νέος 1260. 10; 1299. 5; 1343.  
 νίκη 1265. 10.  
 νιτρίον 1343.  
 νομή 1279. 18.  
 νόμιμος 1348.  
 νόμισμα. See Index IX (δ).  
 νομισμάτιον. See Index IX (δ).  
 νομογράφος 1279. 31.  
 νόμος 1264. 10; 1268. 9. Λαϊτῶριος ν. 1274. 14.  
 νομός. See Index VI (α).  
 νοσεῖν 1299. 5.  
 νότος 1276. 8; 1279. 12.  
 οὖν 1252. recto 8, verso 15; 1267. 11; 1276. 5, 12. οὐνί 1257. 4.  
 νομεγκλάτωρ 1244. introd.  
 ξελεγνον (?) 1297. 18.  
 ξένος 1293. 12.  
 ξέστης 1344.  
 ξυλαμᾶν 1279. 15.  
 ξυλάριον 1292. 12.  
 ὀβολός. See Index IX (δ).  
 ὄθεν 1306.  
 οἰκέτης 1288. 20.  
 οἰκία 1267. 13; 1268. 11; 1272. 6, 16, 17; 1276. 6, 10, 14, 25, 29; 1284. 16; 1287. 9, 13, 17.  
 οἰκονομείν 1276. 14.  
 οἶκος 1299. 15; 1350.  
 οἰνάριον 1288. 12.  
 οἶνος 1275. 19; 1286. introd.; 1288. 12.

- 35; 1297. 10; 1298. 13, 14; 1320; 1322; 1324; 1326; 1340; 1344.
- οἰνοχειριστής 1326.
- ὀκτάδραχος 1283. 17, 20.
- ὀλιγοψυχεῖν 1294. 13.
- ὀλκή 1272. 10; 1273. 8, 9, 10.
- ολοιaron 1300. 5.
- ὀλοκληρεῖν 1299. 3.
- ὀλοκληρία 1298. 5.
- ὀλος 1270. 28, 30; 1273. 17; 1276. 8; 1277. 8; 1293. 3; 1347.
- ὀμνύειν 1255. 11; 1258. 4; 1261. 5; 1264. 18; 1265. 15, 26; 1266. 27, 41; 1267. 21.
- ὀμογνήσιος 1269. 9, 19.
- ὀμοίως 1268. 17; 1286. 6; 1288. 4; 1306; 1338.
- ὀμολογεῖν 1255. 11; 1260. 20; 1265. 15; 1270. 21; 1273. 20, 41, 48, 54; 1274. 8; 1275. 1, 21; 1276. 4, 21, 27, 32; 1277. 6; 1278. 1; 1280. 4; 1281. 5; 1282. 30; 1316; 1320.
- ὀμολόγημα 1278. 29, 37.
- ὀμολογία 1270. 21, 53; 1280. 14, 16.
- ὀμοῦ 1289. 11; 1325.
- ὀμωνυμία 1266. 36.
- ὄνομα 1264. 16; 1270. 51; 1274. 11; 1288. 22; 1299. 18; 1300. 5; 1301 (?); 1329; 1350.
- ὀνομάζειν 1257. 1; 1272. 21.
- ὀνομασία 1252. verso 3.
- ὄνος 1275. 25; 1288. 5.
- ὄξος 1275. 20.
- ὄπηρικά 1273. 37; 1276. 18.
- ὄποτε 1282. 20, 27. ὄποταν 1261. 10.
- ὄπότερος 1278. 27.
- ὄπως 1347.
- ὄραν 1293. 41.
- ὄρβιοπωλεῖον 1323.
- ὄρβιοπόλης 1323.
- ὄρθογώνιος 1270. 26.
- ὄρθως 1273. 41; 1276. 21.
- ὄρκος 1255. 21; 1261. 5, 12; 1264. 19; 1265. 15, 19, 27; 1266. 37, 42.
- ὄρνεον 1339.
- ὄρος 1252. verso 11.
- ὄσπερ 1252. recto 36; 1260. 12; 1273. 37; 1276. 14, 18; 1280. 12; 1298. 18
- ὄστις 1252. recto 26, verso 26.
- ὄστισοῦν 1276. 17. ὅτε 1288. 34; 1295. 7.
- ὅτι 1293. 11 (?); 1299. 6, 7, 8; 1348.
- οὐδέτερος 1278. 28.
- οὐσιακός 1270. 38; 1274. 10; 1276. 16.
- οὕτω 1295. 5. οὕτως 1253. 7.
- ὀφείλειν 1252. verso 33; 1274. 15; 1304; 1320.
- ὀφειλή 1276. 17.
- ὀφλισκάνειν 1257. 16.
- ὀχομένιον 1279. 17.
- ὀψώνιον 1295. 14.
- πάγος. See Index VI (a).
- παιδίον 1335.
- παλαιός 1276. 6; 1284. 11; 1289. 12.
- παλαιστροφύλαξ 1266. 8.
- πάλιν 1252. recto 35; 1293. 41.
- πανάριον 1272. 8; 1294. 6, 7, 9, 10.
- πανταχῇ 1318.
- παντοῖος 1276. 17.
- πάνν 1298. 6.
- παραγίγνεσθαι 1272. 18; 1298. 16; 1346.
- παραδέχεσθαι 1279. 23.
- παραδιδόναι 1257. 9; 1259. 22; 1260. 13, 28; 1278. 25.
- παράδοσις 1257. 3; 1260. 15; 1261. 10; 1262. 7.
- παραδρόμαξ 1346.
- παράθεσις 1264. 14.
- παραρρεῖν 1265. 13.
- παραρτεῖν 1252. verso 28.
- παρακλείδιον 1269. 22.
- παραλαμβάνειν 1259. 4; 1260. 6, 25; 1261. 6; 1262. 14; 1275. 10, 22.
- παραλήψις 1262. 6.
- παραμετρῆειν 1257. 6; 1259. 5; 1260. 26; 1262. 14.
- παραμυθία 1298. 2.
- παρτιθέναι 1257. 9, 17; 1268. 1.
- παραφυλακτέον 1252. recto 5.
- παραχωρεῖν 1270. 22; 1314 (?).
- πάρεδρος 1286. introd.
- παρεῖναι 1257. 8, 18.
- παρέρχεσθαι 1252. verso 20, 27; 1280. 8.
- παρέχειν 1253. 20; 1276. 15; 1280. 10; 1328; 1330; 1335; 1337-8.
- παρήλιξ 1257. 2.
- πᾶς 1252. verso 14, 29; 1254. 8; 1258. 9, 10; 1259. 21; 1260. 16; 1264. 17; 1266. 14; 1268. 12; 1270. 37, 41; 1273.

XI. GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK AND LATIN WORDS 307

- 19, 24, 32; 1274. 14; 1276. 7, 15, 16, 17; 1279. 20; 1280. 17; 1281. 2; 1282. 13; 1284. 11; 1294. 14; 1296. 17, 18; 1298. 3, 8; 1299. 3, 18; 1305; 1307 (?); 1349; 1350.
- παστοφόρος 1268. 6.
- πάσχειν 1252. recto 33.
- πατήρ 1265. 18; 1266. 6, 9, 20; 1269. 9, 18; 1293. 4; 1295. 7; 1296. 2, 6, 15, 18, 20; 1297. 22.
- πατητής 1340.
- πατρικός 1265. 2.
- πατρικός 1269. 33.
- πατρικός 1257. 2.
- παύειν 1299. 6.
- παχύς 1300. 9.
- πεδιακός 1287. 2.
- πεδίων 1255. 8.
- πέθειν 1252. verso 28; 1293. 13.
- πέμπειν 1288. 26; 1291. 5; 1293. 23, 29, 42; 1295. 6, 13, 19.
- πενταετία 1279. 24.
- πεντώβολον. See Index IX (δ).
- περιείναι 1266. 8; 1269. 24; 1270. 50; 1282. 21, 27; 1288. 9; 1301.
- περιέχειν 1270. 47.
- περίσημος 1278. 12.
- περιστερών 1278. 12, 25; 1283. 18.
- περιτραχήλιον 1273. 7.
- περιχρυσούν 1273. 9.
- πεσσός 1272. 6, 12.
- πηχισμός 1283. 18.
- πίνα 1273. 10.
- πίνειν 1297. 11.
- πιπεράδιον 1299. 10.
- πιπράσκειν 1269. 33; 1276. 5, 25, 29; 1277. 6, 22; 1288. 35.
- πίσσα 1286. 8.
- πλήρης 1255. 11; 1261. 10; 1270. 36; 1273. 21, 27; 1276. 12; 1331.
- πληροῦν 1252. recto 9; 1255. 9; 1260. 16; 1331.
- πλοῖον 1259. 3; 1260. 4, 7; 1288. 6.
- πόθεν 1265. 13.
- ποιεῖν 1252. verso 16, 21; 1257. 9; 1261. 9; 1270. 18; 1284. 15; 1292. 3; 1293. 17; 1295. 13; 1296. 4; 1299. 8; 1345; 1349.
- ποικιλτός 1277. 8.
- πόλις. See Index VI (a).
- πολιτικός 1252. verso 22.
- πόλις 1252. verso 17; 1296. 2; 1299. 2, 4, 5, 20; 1300. 3, 6, 8, 9; 1350. πλείων 1270. 27.
- πόρος 1254. 27.
- πόσος 1295. 17.
- ποσότης 1293. 9.
- ποταμίτης 1288. 13.
- ποταμός 1259. 12, 20 (?); 1263. 14.
- ποτήριον 1269. 36.
- που 1252. recto 4 (?).
- πράγμα 1348.
- πραγματευτής 1257. 5.
- πραιπίσιτος. See Index VIII.
- πράκτωρ 1283. 4; 1258. 3.
- πράξις 1273. 35; 1282. 24.
- πράσις 1276. 17; 1277. 12; 1286. 5.
- πρεσβύτερος 1311 (?); 1322.
- πρίν 1292. 6.
- προάγειν 1265. 11.
- προαπέχειν 1287. 7 (?).
- προγράφειν 1266. 5; 1282. 38; 1287. 10.
- προεργασία 1270. 47.
- προέρχεσθαι 1252. verso 16.
- προίξ 1274. 17.
- προιστάναι 1275. 8.
- προκείσθαι 1253. 17; 1254. 8; 1260. 7, 26, 29; 1261. 12; 1263. 16; 1265. 13, 27; 1268. 16; 1273. 19, 21, 27, 35, 47, 48, 51, 53; 1275. 13, 26; 1276. 13, 27, 32; 1277. 14, 26; 1278. 23, 28; 1280. 15, 17; 1281. 8; 1287. 13.
- προλέγειν 1257. 15; 1265. 17.
- προπόρφυρος 1273. 16.
- προσάγγελμα 1254. 2.
- προσάγειν 1257. 15.
- προσαγορεύειν 1300. 3, 6, 9; 1350.
- προσβαίνειν 1266. 13; 1269. 20; 1306.
- προσγράφειν 1273. 19.
- προσδέισθαι 1273. 39; 1276. 19.
- προσδοκείν 1299. 7.
- προσεῖναι 1252. recto 4; 1257. 17.
- προσκεφάλαιον 1277. 9, 23.
- προσκύνημα 1296. 4.
- προσλαμβάνειν 1257. 11.
- προσμετ( ) 1286. 5.
- πρόσταξις 1252. recto 19.
- προστάσσειν 1252. recto 4, 29.
- προστάτης 1275. 7.
- προσφέρειν 1273. 5, 47; 1274. 16.

- προσφορά 1253. 9; 1322.  
 προσφωνεῖν 1252. recto 35.  
 προτάσσειν 1273. 46.  
 πρότερος 1286. 8 (?). πρότερον 1268. 19;  
 1270. 24; 1281. 9; 1287. 8, 20, 21, 22.  
 προτομή 1265. 10, 22.  
 προτρέπειν 1252. verso 32.  
 προτροπή 1252. verso 27.  
 προφέρειν 1252. recto 33, 36; 1282. 25;  
 1288. 12.  
 προ . εὐάριον 1297. 8.  
 πρυτανεία 1252. verso 19.  
 πρύτανις 1252. verso 13.  
 πρωτήκτωρ 1253. 4, 14, 17.  
 πρωτολόγιμος 1256. 15.  
 πρώτος 1293. 15. πρώτοι 1253. 6. πρώτως  
 1263. 8; 1267. 10; 1345.  
 πυρός 1254. 7, 21; 1259. 12, 18; 1279. 17;  
 1304.  
 πωλεῖν 1276. 13.  
 πῶς 1298. 10.  
  
 ῥαφάνινος 1275. 18.  
 ῥύμη 1276. 8, 9.  
 ῥύσις 1326-7.  
 ῥωννίνα 1252. verso 37. ἔρρωσο (οἱ -σθε)  
 1252. recto 11, verso 12; 1270. 8; 1291.  
 12; 1292. 16; 1293. 35; 1294. 17;  
 1295. 21. ἐρρώσθαι σε (οἱ ἡμᾶς) εὐχομαι  
 1296. 20; 1299. 19; 1300. 8; 1349.  
 ἐρρώσθαι εὐχομαι 1297. 21; 1345.  
  
 σάμαθον 1290. 1.  
 σαμκαμκός (?) 1281. 6.  
 σεβάσιμος 1261. 5; 1265. 15; 1284. 4.  
 σείειν 1252. recto 37.  
 σημειοῦν, σεσημείωμαι 1270. 11; 1328; 1330;  
 1335; 1337.  
 σήμερον 1252. recto 25; 1345.  
 σήπειν 1294. 13.  
 σικάριον 1294. 8.  
 σικον (?) 1312.  
 σιμαρίδιον 1289. 9.  
 σίπιον 1288. 7, 29, 34, 36.  
 σιτλίον 1290. 9.  
 σιτόκριθον 1253. 15.  
 σιτολόγος. See Index VIII.  
 σίτος 1257. 4, 13; 1332; 1344.  
 σκέπη 1258. 10.  
 σκεῦος 1289. 5, 20.  
  
 σόλιον 1288. 16.  
 σπαθιον 1297. 10; 1298. 14, 18.  
 σπείρειν 1279. 15; 1347.  
 σπέρμα 1262. 7, 15.  
 σπονδή 1283. 17, 20; 1284. 16; 1340.  
 σπόριμος 1270. 25.  
 σταθμός 1273. 6, 21, 28.  
 στέφανος 1252. verso 16, 20.  
 στιχάριον 1288. 24.  
 στοιχείν 1341.  
 στόλαρχος 1331 (?).  
 στρατηγεῖν 1257. 5; 1266. 1, 27.  
 στρατηγός. See Index VIII.  
 στρατιώτης 1261. 8.  
 στρογγύλος 1289. 4.  
 στρώμα 1277. 7.  
 στυπηρία 1288. 14.  
 συγγραφή 1266. 18; 1273. 37; 1281. 3;  
 1282. 21, 34, 42; 1284. 14.  
 συγκαθιδρύειν 1256. 14.  
 συγχώρησις 1268. 4, 17.  
 σύμβιος 1294. 14, 16.  
 συμβιοῦν 1273. 22.  
 σύμβολον 1309.  
 σύμμαχος 1323 (?).  
 συμφωνεῖν 1270. 32; 1276. 9; 1280. 16;  
 1329; 1331.  
 συμφωνία 1275. 9, 12, 24.  
 συναγοραστικός 1304.  
 συναθροίζειν 1253. 5.  
 συναίρεμα 1257. 12.  
 συνεπιδιδόναι 1252. recto 45, 46.  
 συνευδόκησις 1276. 19.  
 συνεχῶς 1252. verso 23.  
 συνιστάναι 1273. 2, 49.  
 σύνναος 1256. 13; 1265. 8.  
 συντάσσειν 1270. 47.  
 συντέλεια 1270. 42; 1330-1.  
 συντιθένα 1280. 5.  
 συντίμησις 1273. 12, 18, 22, 29, 30, 31;  
 1274. 18, 19; 1284. 15.  
 συνωνείσθαι 1288. 3.  
 συστάτης 1328.  
 σφαῖρα 1293. 41.  
 σφραγίζειν 1293. 30, 39.  
 σφυρίδιον 1293. 30, 39; 1297. 6, 12.  
  
 τάγμα 1252. verso 24.  
 τάλαντον. See Index IX (b).  
 tantum 1314.

τάξις 1261. 3; 1266. 24.  
 τάπης 1253. 12.  
 ταπητέμπορος 1253. 13.  
 ταριχεύειν 1299. 8.  
 τάσσειν 1252. verso 30.  
 τέκνον 1276. 3, 24; 1277. 2; 1299. 12, 14,  
 17.  
 τελείν 1347.  
 τελειοῦν 1268. 17.  
 τέλεσμα 1255. 10; 1270. 40; 1288. 6.  
 τελευτᾶν 1295. 7.  
 τελευτή 1269. 34; 1274. 6.  
 τέμενος 1258. 9.  
 τετάρτη 1273. 8, 9, 11, 17.  
 τέταρτον 1293. 25 (?).  
 τετράδεγμα 1294. 4.  
 τετράμηρος 1252. verso 30, 31.  
 τετρώβολον. See Index IX (δ).  
 τέχνη 1263. 14.  
 τέως 1252. verso 25.  
 τηρέιν 1298. 7.  
 τιθέναι 1286. 16; 1282. 26; 1295. 12.  
 τιμή 1253. 6; 1276. 10, 26, 30; 1277. 10,  
 24; 1281. 5; 1285. 50; 1286. 5; 1288.  
 22; 1304; 1320; 1339.  
 τίμημα 1274. 14.  
 τίμιος 1295. 1; 1300. 2; 1337.  
 τοῖνον 1252. verso 18.  
 τόκος 1282. 17; 1288. 19.  
 τολμᾶν 1252. recto 6.  
 τύμος 1307.  
 τοπαρχία. See Index VI (a).  
 τόπος 1255. 17; 1258. 9; 1259. 7; 1283.  
 6; 1288. 12.  
 τότε 1273. 31.  
 τράπεζα 1283. 14.  
 τραπέζιτης 1253. 11; 1284. 6, 19.  
 τρικέλλορον 1290. 5.  
 τρίκλινον 1277. 7, 23.  
 τρισκαιδεκαετής 1306.  
 τρισσός 1259. 25; (γ) 1260. 17; 1278. 29.  
 τρίψις 1273. 32.  
 τροφή 1252. verso 36.  
 τρόφιμος 1284. 12.  
 τροφός 1288. 11.  
 τροχός 1292. 13.  
 τυγχάνειν 1265. 20.  
 τυκάνιον 1290. 4.  
 τυφλός 1276. 8.  
 τύχη 1255. 13; 1273. 1.

ὑαλος 1294. 6.  
 ὑγαίνειν 1293. 3; 1299. 3.  
 ὕγιος 1294. 6.  
 ὑγιῶς 1259. 23.  
 υἱός 1256. 8; 1266. 15; 1267. 15; 1270.  
 20; 1287. 20; 1293. 40; 1295. 4;  
 1296. 16, 21; 1299. 1; 1300. 2, 10, 12;  
 1306.  
 ὑπάγειν 1288. 34; 1291. 11.  
 ὕπαρξις 1274. 14.  
 ὑπάρχειν 1252. verso 14; 1267. 11; 1270.  
 22; 1273. 36; 1274. 22; 1276. 5; 1281.  
 2; 1287. 12, 19.  
 ὑπέιναι 1264. 10, 17.  
 ὑπηρεσία 1288. 8.  
 ὑπρέτης 1328; 1339.  
 ὑπόβλητος 1266. 34.  
 ὑπογράφειν 1254. 23; 1269. 21.  
 ὑπογῶς 1252. verso 18.  
 ὑποκείσθαι 1270. 8.  
 ὑπολογεῖν 1298. 17.  
 ὑπόλογος 1279. 9.  
 ὑπόλοιπος 1252. verso 35, 36.  
 ὑπόμνημα 1252. recto 26, 32; 1257. 17;  
 1263. 16; 1264. 9, 13; 1267. 19; 1270.  
 7; 1287. 10, 18; 1302.  
 ὑπομνηματογράφος 1257. 4; 1270. 13.  
 ὑπομνηστικός 1343.  
 ὑπόνοια 1272. 13.  
 ὑπόστασις 1274. 15.  
 ὑποτιθέναι 1269. 23, 25, 27, 29, 31.  
 ὕστερεῖν 1293. 24.  
 ὕστερον 1252. verso 28.  
 φακίριον 1300. 9.  
 φανερός 1252. recto 37.  
 φάσις 1274. 6.  
 φέρειν 1252. verso 3; 1291. 3; 1293. 19;  
 1297. 16; 1347.  
 φερνή 1273. 6, 17, 19, 27, 35, 47, 51.  
 φθάνειν 1252. recto 32; 1293. 25.  
 φιλόβουλος 1305.  
 φιλοπονείν 1296. 7.  
 φίλος 1298. φίλτατος 1292. 17; 1298. 6;  
 1300. 11.  
 φοίνιξ 1293. 34 (?).  
 φορεῖν 1300. 10.  
 φόρος 1279. 19.  
 φουλβινα 1290. 7.  
 φροντίζειν 1307.

φροντίς 1252. verso 20.  
 φρούριον 1252. recto 18, 25.  
 φρουρός 1252. verso 10.  
 φυλάσσειν 1273. 23.  
 φυλή 1267. 2.  
 φύσις 1266. 33.  
  
 χαίρειν 1252. recto 3, verso 1, 6, 9; 1270.  
 6; 1274. 5; 1276. 4; 1277. 6; 1280.  
 4; 1291. 2; 1292. 2; 1293. 2; 1294.  
 2; 1295. 2; 1296. 3; 1298. 3; 1299.  
 2; 1300. 2; 1320-1; 1348-9.  
 χαλκός 1295. 17.  
 χαλκοῦς 1269. 22, 36. Cf Index IX (δ).  
 χάριν 1296. 6.  
 χαρτάριον 1297. 18.  
 χεῖλωμα 1294. 5, 12.  
 χεῖλωμάτιον 1294. 3.  
 χεῖμών 1300. 9.  
 χεῖρ, διὰ χειρός 1270. 36; 1276. 12. εἰς  
 χείρας 1339. ὑπὸ τῇ χειρὶ 1268. 9.  
 χειρισμός 1259. 3, 22.  
 χειριστικόν 1257. 10.  
 χειρόγραφον 1252. recto 16 (?).  
 χειροτονεῖν 1252. verso 18.  
 χερρῖψιστος (l. χερρόψιστος?) 1286. 32.  
 χερσοθρυτίς 1347.  
 χιάζειν 1282. 34.  
 χιτών 1269. 30 (κιτών).  
 χιτώνιον 1273. 13, 17; (κιθώνιον) 1310.  
 χλαμύς 1288. 24.  
 χμγ 1289. 1; 1300. 1; 1328; 1343.  
 χοῖνιξ 1286. 3, 4, 7.  
 χοιρίδιον 1269. 33; 1299. 7.  
 χόνδρος 1338.  
 χορηγεῖν 1252. verso 29, 31, 36; 1273. 24.  
 χορηγία 1252. verso 15.  
 χορεία 1292. 11; 1294. 16; 1337; 1346.

χρωστέιν 1320.  
 χρηματίζεω 1252. recto 45, 46; 1260. 9;  
 1268. 2; 1273. 3; 1274. 5; 1276. 2;  
 1277. 2; 1278. 2, 35; 1281. 15; 1282. 46.  
 χρηματισμός 1270. 4.  
 χρηματιστής 1270. 15.  
 χρῆν 1274. 26.  
 χρῆσθαι 1263. 12; 1266. 36; 1276. 14.  
 χρήσις 1318.  
 χρηστήριον 1268. 12; 1276. 7, 10; 1284. 11.  
 χρόνος 1252. verso 17, 36; 1276. 5; 1278.  
 13, 20, 29; 1299. 20; 1300. 10.  
 χρυσίον 1273. 28.  
 χρυσός 1273. 6. χρυσοῦ νομισμάτιον. See  
 Index IX (δ).  
 χρυσοῦς 1272. 9, 11; 1274. 17.  
 χρ( ) 1290. 10.  
 χῶμα 1270. 39; 1279. 13.  
 χώρα 1252. recto 31. Ἀλεξανδρέων χ. 1274. 8.  
 χωρεῖν 1262. 8; 1278. 23.  
 χωρίς 1273. 8, 9, 10; 1276. 2, 24; 1277. 2;  
 1279. 16; 1282. 35.  
  
 ψαλίδιον 1289. 5, 6.  
 ψεύδεσθαι 1264. 20; 1266. 32.  
 ψόα 1339.  
 ψυκτήρ 1280. 7.  
 ψωμίον 1345.  
  
 ὠνεῖσθαι 1320.  
 ὦν 1339.  
 ὦς 1252. recto 36, 45, 46; 1254. 27; 1257.  
 16; 1260. 9; 1265. 27; 1267. 20;  
 1270. 52, 54; 1273. 3, 16; 1274. 5;  
 1276. 13, 14, 27, 31; 1277. 14, 26;  
 1278. 2, 35, 37; 1280. 17; 1292. 5;  
 1293. 13; 1348.  
 ὥστε 1255. 7; 1279. 14; 1293. 13.



## XII. INDEX OF PASSAGES DISCUSSED.

## (a) AUTHORS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Achilles, Περὶ σφαίρας . . . . .	135	Menander, <i>Periceir</i> . Fr. β . . . . .	89
Alcaeus 18. 1 . . . . .	80	Plato Com. 77 (Kock) . . . . .	200
32 . . . . .	51	Sappho 2. 6 . . . . .	43
42 . . . . .	70	12 . . . . .	43
63 . . . . .	42	13 . . . . .	40
93 . . . . .	51	15 . . . . .	43
Biogr. Gr. 50 (Westermann) . . . . .	101	67 . . . . .	49
Cod. Theod. ii. 24. 6 . . . . .	170	Servius, <i>Aen.</i> ix. 503 . . . . .	112
Hesych. <i>s. v.</i> δολφός . . . . .	42	Strabo ii. 101 . . . . .	204
<i>s. v.</i> Τιτανίδα . . . . .	110	Suidas <i>s. v.</i> Ἀπολλώνιος . . . . .	101
<i>s. v.</i> τυτάνη . . . . .	243	<i>s. v.</i> Ἀχιλλεύς Στάτιος . . . . .	135
Menander, <i>Epitrep.</i> 503-4 . . . . .	89	<i>s. v.</i> Σαπφώ . . . . .	41
510 . . . . .	89	Tzetztes, p. 200. 14 . . . . .	101
Fr. Q . . . . .	89, 90	Zenobius i. 57 . . . . .	109
Fr. U . . . . .	90		

## (b) PAPYRI, ETC.

	PAGE		PAGE
B. G. U. 72. 2-3 . . . . .	179	P. Oxy. 515. 2, 6 . . . . .	235
578. 22 . . . . .	203	517. 6 . . . . .	235
870. 3 . . . . .	239	522. 21 . . . . .	181
985. 11 . . . . .	219	653 . . . . .	229
P. Brit. Mus. 933 . . . . .	230, 232	733. 3 . . . . .	195
P. Cairo Preis. 43. 1 . . . . .	227	734. 3, 5 . . . . .	236
C. P. Herm. 7. i. 2, 6 . . . . .	168	906. 8-9 . . . . .	193
C. P. R. 37. 18 . . . . .	231	912. 6 . . . . .	210
P. Giessen 11. 17-18 . . . . .	181	917. 3 . . . . .	229
15. 3 . . . . .	172	1037. 4 . . . . .	260
50. 34 . . . . .	210	1107. 1 . . . . .	173
P. Leipzig 22. 10 . . . . .	181	1114 . . . . .	211
P. Oxy. 47. 1 . . . . .	227	1196. 8 . . . . .	181
56. 10 . . . . .	225	1199. 25 . . . . .	198
99. 19 . . . . .	232	1208. 21 . . . . .	203
102. 8 . . . . .	236	P. Par. 68 . . . . .	118
114. 5 . . . . .	210	Preisigke, <i>Sammelbuch</i> , 1945. 12 . . . . .	235
257. 13-14. 40-3 . . . . .	193	P. S. I. 80 . . . . .	235
276. 1 . . . . .	227	83 . . . . .	236
299. 4 . . . . .	214	109. 5 . . . . .	235
476 . . . . .	203	P. Strassb. 31. 6 . . . . .	170
483. 3 . . . . .	191	P. Tebt. 121. 49 . . . . .	178
485. 29, 34 . . . . .	203	323. 7 . . . . .	195
35-7 . . . . .	204	486 . . . . .	181-2
496. 3, 15 . . . . .	210		







αδελφοί  
παιδ  
αδελφοί  
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 ΚΑΙ ΝΥΚΤΙΜΑΤΗ  
 ... ΒΑΝΔΙΝΟΣ ...  
 ... ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟΝΟΥ  
 ... ΠΡΕΠΙΣΗΠΙΩΤΗ  
 ... ΑΙΤΑΡΝΙΝΩΤΗ  
 ... ΔΕΠΙΕΟΠΑΤΑΓΚ  
 ... ΔΗΠΡΑΥΤΑΕΚΡΓΟ  
 ... ΔΕΑΝΙΩΑΝΑΝΑ  
 ... ΕΡΑ ... ΕΡΕΚΤΟΝΙΤ

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... ΕΙΣΤΕ ΔΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΓΙΟΝ  
 ... ΑΥΜΟΣΦΙΣΟΝΟΝ ΠΕΔΑΛΕΝ  
 ... ΕΥΧΗΜΕΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΕΡΙΝ ΕΙΣ  
 ... ΚΑΙ ΝΟΣ ΔΕΓ ΑΔΗΕΙΣ ΑΤΡΕΙΣ  
 ... ΔΑΠΤΕΤΟ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΚΑΙ ΠΕ  
 ... ΘΑΚΑΡΜΕΒΩΝ ΗΤΑΡΕΥΣΕΠΗ  
 ... ΤΡΟΠΗ ΝΕΚΔΕΧΕ, ΟΤΩ ΔΕΛΑ  
 ... ΔΕΓΟΜΕΝΑΙ ΤΑΘΥΜΟΒΟΙ  
 ... ΕΩ ΠΥΛΟΤΙ ΜΑΧΑ ΤΑΝΤΙ ΟΛΥΜΠ  
 ... ΕΝ ΠΕ ΔΑΜΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΧΤΑΝΑ  
 ... ΦΙΤΤΑΚΟ ΔΕΙΔΟΙΣ ΚΥ ΔΟΣΕΠΗ  
 ... ΚΑΙ ΧΟΡΟΙΝΟΙ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΡΟΝ ΙΔΕΤΑ  
 ... ΦΙΛΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΕΘΑΚΑ ΠΕΦΙΝ ΚΑΜΗ  
 ... ΚΑΙ ΧΟΙΡΟΝ ΑΓΡΟΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΤΑ

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 ΜΗΣΚΑΙΠΑΥΝΑΤΡΙΑΓ'ΗΣΤΟΤΑΥ  
 ΜΑΚΔΑΜΑΛΕΓΩΝΤΗΝΧΕΙΡΑΒΙ  
 ΔΙΟΤΕΙΟΝΠΕΡΙΕΒΑΛΛΟΝΚΑΙΕ  
 ΦΙΛΟΥΝΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΩΤΕΡΟΝΗΔΕ  
 ΗΝΕΡΕΤΟΚΩΛ. ΟΥΣΔΗΘΕΝ  
 ΕΝΤΟΥΤΩΓΕΡΡΩΘΕΝΙΔΟΝΤΕΣ  
 ΠΡΟΣΙΟΥΣΑΝΤΗΝΘΕΡΑΤΑΙΝΑΝ  
 ΔΙΕΛΑΥΘΗΜΕΝΕΓΩΜΕΝΑΚΩ  
 ΚΑΙΛΥΤΕΡΑΝΕΝΟΣΗΔΕΟΥΚΟΙΔΟ  
 ΤΩΣΕΙΧΕΡΡΑΩΝΟΥΝΕΓΕΓΟ  
 ΝΕΙΝΚΑΙΜΕΣΤΟΣΕΑΤΙΔΩΝΗ  
 ΘΟΜΗΝΔΕΕΠΙΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΟΥ  
 ΔΙΟΤΟΥΦΙΛΙΜΑΤΟΣΩΣΣΩΜΑ  
 ΤΟΣΚΑΙΕΦΥΛΑΣΣΟΝΑΛΗΘΩΣ  
 ΩΣΘΗΚΑΥΡΟΝΤΟΦΙΛΗΜΑΤΗΡΩ  
 ΙΔΟΝΗΣΟΠΕΡΠΡΩΤΟΝΕΣΤΙΝ  
 ΑΥΚΥΚΑΙΓΑΓΑΛΤΟΥΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΥ  
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 ΖΝΟΠΙΣ.ΟΝΕΡ.ΕΠΙΠΡΟΣ  
 ΩΝΗΝΦΙΛΗΜΑΤΗΡΩΤΗ  
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 ΟΙΩΣΣΥΕΠΙΝΟΜΕΝΗ  
 ΠΙΠΡΟΠ.ΓΑΟΥΔΙΟΥΝΥΣΩ  
 ΤΟΝΕΥΛΙΟΝΥΣΩΝΤΥΡΙΟ  
 ΔΙΖΟΥΣΙΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΕΠΕ  
 ΚΑΔΙΟΥΜΘΟΝΔΔΟΥΣΩ  
 ΗΣΕΟΡΤΗΣΔΗΓΟΥΝ  
 ΕΜΑΥ.Μ.ΟΙΝΕΝΟΥΚΕ  
 ΩΤΤΑΡΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣΟΤ  
 ΜΑΡΑΤΟΙΣΟΥΤΟΝΜΕΩ

ΝΑΤΟΝΑΙΘΟΡΜΙΑΝΟΥΤΟΝΠ  
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 ΝΟΙΤΟΚΕΡΑΙΡΙΟΝΟΥΧΕΙΟΝΕΚ  
 ΛΕΥΚΟΝΟΥΤΝΙΚΑΡΟΥΤΝΗ  
 ΣΙΩΤΗΝ.ΣΑΥΤΟΥΤΟΥΣΜΕΝ  
 ΑΝΤΕΟΛΓΟΙΚΟΥΣΕΙΝΑΙΤΥΡΩ  
 ΘΡΗΠΩΝΤΗΝΔΕΠΡΩΤΗΝ  
 ΤΑΥΤΟΙΣΙΩΝΟΙΝΩΝΜΗΤΕ  
 ΡΑΕΙ.ΟΝΕΡΕΚΕΙΤΗΝΑΦΙΛΟΣ  
 ΝΟΝΟΙΜΕΝΑΔΙΟΝΑΘΗΝΑΙ  
 ΤΩΝΚΑΡΙΟΝΛΕΥΣΙΚΑΙΤΟΝ  
 ΕΝΑΥΘΑΟΥΜΥΘΟΥΓΝΕΩ  
 ΠΑΝΟΣΟΝΑΤΗΚΟΝΕΙΝΑΙ  
 ΚΕΙΕΤΟΥΤΟΝΗΚΕΝΟΑΙ  
 ΤΟΣ.ΟΙΣΥΚΟΛΟΝΟΔΕΑΥΤ  
 ΤΑΡΘΗΕΙΝΟΟΑΠΠΡΕΦΕ  
 ΜΑΖ.ΟΟΝΤΟΝΑΔΕΗ  
 ΡΑΥΟΙΣ.ΟΙΟΝΕΔΟΒ.ΥΣΕΠΕ  
 ΟΥΠΩΤΑΓΟΔΜΠΕΛΙΝΟΝΕ  
 ΟΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΕΤΑΝΕΙΤΗΣΦΙ  
 ΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΕΙΣΤΟΝΤΟΙΜΕΝΑΔΑ  
 ΑΥΤΩΠΡΟΤΕΙΝΙΚΥΛΙΚΑΦΙΛΟΣ  
 ΟΥΚΕΤΕΔΕΠΙΤΟΟΙΝΤΗΝ  
 ΔΕΠΙΟΥΦΗΔΟΝΗΣ  
 ΤΑΙΚΥΕΙΠΡΟΣ  
 ΘΕΝΥΝΕΣΟΙΤΟ  
 ΟΠΟΡΦΙΡΟΥΝΤ  
 ΕΥΡΕ.ΟΑΙΝΑΠΗΕ  
 ΕΚΕ.ΝΟΤΟΧΑΜΑ  
 ΓΑΡΕΟΤΟ.ΕΡΝΑΚΑ  
 ΚΑΙΥΤΗ.ΙΕΧΕΙΤΗ  
 ΤΟΥΔΕΚ.ΤΟΤΟ  
 ΤΑΡΕΙΝΑΕΥΚΡΑ  
 ΤΙΜΕΝΨΥΧΡΟΝΕΣΤΙ  
 ΑΓΕΡΑΔΕΡΑΤΟΝ  
 ΝΕΙΚΑΤΩΘΕΙΝΑ  
 ΚΑΙΟΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΛΕΦΙ  
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